

HISTORY
OF
ROME,
BY
TITUS LIVIUS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL,
WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,
BY
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HISTORY IS PHILOSOPHY TEACHING BY EXAMPLES.
BOLINGBROKE.

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W. BAYNES SUCCESSORS TO MR. CADELL
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ERRATA in VOL. V.

- Page 293. line 11. *read* on this side
335. — 2. *read* led out on occasion
346. — 11. *read* had reassembled
407. — 19. *read* for, Demetrius ;

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BOOK XXXV.

Publius Scipio Africanus sent ambassador to Antiochus; has a conversation with Hannibal, at Ephesus. Preparations of the Romans for war with Antiochus. Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, instigated by the Ætolians, makes war on the Achæans, is put to death by a party of the Ætolians. The Ætolians, violating the treaty of friendship with the Romans, invite Antiochus, who comes, with a small force, into Greece, and, in conjunction with them, takes several towns, and the whole island of Eubœa. The Achæans declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians.

I. IN the beginning of the same year, Sextus Dig-
tius, prætor in the hither Spain, fought with those
states, which, after the departure of Marcus Cato, had
recommenced hostilities, a great number of battles,
but none deserving of particular mention; and all
so unfavourable to him, that he scarcely delivered
to his successor half the number of men that he had
received. In consequence of this, every state in
Spain would certainly have resumed new courage,
and have taken up arms, had not the other prætor,
Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, fought many
successful engagements on the other side of the Ibe-
rus; and, by these means, diffused such a general
terror that no less than fifty towns came over to
his side. These exploits Scipio performed in his

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prætorship. Afterwards, when prætor, as the Lusitanians, after ravaging the farther province, were returning home, with an immense booty, he attacked them on their march, and continued the engagement from the third hour of the day to the eighth, before any advantage was gained on either side; for he was inferior to the enemy in number of men, but he had the advantage of them in other respects: with his troops formed in a compact body, he attacked a long train, encumbered with multitudes of cattle; and with his soldiers fresh, engaged men fatigued with a long march; for the enemy had set out at the third watch, and, besides travelling the remainder of the night, had continued their march to the third hour of the day; nor had they been allowed any rest, as the battle immediately succeeded the march. Wherefore, though, at the beginning of the battle they retained some vigour of body and mind, and, at first, threw the Romans into disorder, yet, in some time, the fight became equal. In this critical situation the prætor made a vow to celebrate games in honour of Jupiter, in case he should defeat and cut off the enemy. The Romans then made a more vigorous push, which the Lusitanians could not withstand, but, in a little time, turned their backs. The victors pursued them briskly, killed no less than twelve thousand of them, and took five hundred and forty prisoners, most of whom were horsemen. There were taken, besides, an hundred and thirty-four military standards. Of the Roman army, but seventy-three men were lost. The battle was fought at a small distance from the city of Ilipa. Thither Publius Cornelius led back his victorious army, amply enriched with spoil; all which was exposed to view under the walls of the city, and permission given to the owners to claim their own effects. The remainder was put into the hands of the quæstor to be sold, and the money produced by the sale was distributed among the soldiers.

II. At the time when these occurrences happened in Spain, Caius Flaminius, the prætor, had not yet set out from Rome: therefore, he and his friends took pains to represent in the strongest colours, both the successes and the misfortunes experienced there; and he laboured to persuade the senate, that, as a very formidable war had blazed out in his province, and he was likely to receive from Sextus Digitius a very small remnant of an army, and that terrified and disheartened, they ought to decree one of the city legions to him, in order that, when he should have united to it the soldiers levied by himself, pursuant to the senate's decree, he might select from the whole number three thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse. He said, that "with such a legion as that, for very little confidence could be placed on the troops of Sextus Digitius, he should be able to manage the war." But the elder part of the senate insisted, that "decrees of the senate ought not to be passed on every groundless rumour, fabricated by private persons for the purpose of humouring magistrates, and that no intelligence should be deemed authentic, except it were either written by the prætors, from their provinces, or brought by their deputies. If there was a tumultuous commotion in Spain, they advised a vote, that tumultuary soldiers should be levied by the prætor in some other country than Italy." The senate's intention was, that tumultuary soldiers should be raised in Spain. Valerius Antias says, that Caius Flaminius failed to Sicily for the purpose of levying soldiers, and that, on his voyage thence to Spain, being driven by a storm to Africa, he enlisted there many straggling soldiers, who had belonged to the army of Publius Africanus; and that, to the levies made in those two provinces, he added a third in Spain.

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III. In Italy the war, commenced by the Ligurians, grew daily more formidable. They now invested Pisa, with an army of forty thousand men; for multitudes flocked into them continually, led by the favourable reports of their proceedings, and the expectation of booty. The consul, Minucius, came to Arretium, on the day which he had fixed for the assembling of the troops. Thence he led them, in order of battle, towards Pisa; and though the enemy had removed their camp to the distance of no more than three miles from the city, to the other side of the river, the consul marched into the city, which evidently owed its preservation to his coming. Next day, he also encamped on the other side of the river, about a mile from the enemy, and, by sending out parties, from that post, to attack the parties of the enemy, protected the lands of the allies from their depredations. He did not think it prudent to risk a battle, because his troops were raw, composed of many different kinds of men, and not yet sufficiently acquainted with each other, to act together with confidence. The Ligurians, blinded to much on their numbers, that they not only came out and offered battle, willing to risk every thing on the issue of an engagement, but, from their superiority of men, they sent out many parties along the frontiers, to plunder, and wherever a large quantity of cattle, and other prey, was collected, there was an escort, always in readiness, to convey it into their forts and towns.

IV. WHILE the operations of the Ligurian war remained at a stand, at Pisa, the other consul, Lucius Cornelius Merula, led his army through the extreme borders of the Ligurians, into the country of the Boians, where the mode of proceeding was quite the reverse of that which took place in the war of Liguria. The consul offered battle; the enemy refused to fight; and the Romans, when they could
not

not bring on an engagement, went out, in parties, to plunder, while the Boians chose to let their country be utterly wasted, with fire and sword, without opposition, rather than venture an engagement in defence of it. When the whole country was utterly wasted, the consul quitted the enemy's territory, and marched towards Mutina, in a careless manner, as through a tract where no hostility was to be apprehended. The Boians, when they learned that the enemy had withdrawn beyond their frontiers, followed him, as secretly as they could, watching an opportunity for an ambuscade; and, having passed by his camp, in the night, took possession of a defile, through which the Romans were to pass. But they were not able to effect this without being discovered; and the consul, who usually began his march late in the night, now waited until day, lest, in the disorderly fight likely to ensue, darkness might increase the confusion; and, though he did not stir before it was light, yet he sent forward a troop of horse to explore the country. On receiving intelligence from them, of the number and situation of the enemy, he ordered the baggage of the whole army to be heaped together, in the centre, and the veterans to throw up a rampart round it, and then, with the rest of the army, in order of battle, he advanced towards the enemy. The Gauls did the same, when they found that their stratagem was detected, and that they were to engage in a fair and regular battle, where success must depend on valour alone.

V. THE battle began about the second hour. The left brigade of the allies, and the extraordinaries, formed the first line, and were commanded by two lieutenant-generals, of consular dignity, Marcus Marcellus, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been consul the year before. The present consul was, sometimes, employed in the front of the line, sometimes in keeping back the legions in reserve, that they

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might not, through eagerness for fighting, come up to the attack, until they received the signal. He ordered the two Minucii, Quintus and Publius, military tribunes, to lead off the cavalry of the legions, into open ground, at some distance from the line; and "when he should give them the signal, to charge the enemy through the clear space." While he was thus employed, a message came from Tiberius Sempronius Longus, that the extraordinaries could not support the onset of the Gauls; that great numbers had already fallen; and that, partly through weariness, partly through fear, the ardour of the survivors was much abated. He recommended it, therefore, to the consul, if he thought proper, to send up one or the other of the two legions, before the army suffered disgrace. The second legion was accordingly sent, and the extraordinaries were ordered to retire. By the legion coming up, with its men fresh, and the ranks complete in their numbers, the fight was renewed with vigour. The left wing was withdrawn, out of the action, and the right took its place, in the van. The intense heat of the sun scorched the Gauls, whose bodies were very ill-qualified to endure heat; nevertheless, keeping their ranks close, and leaning sometimes on each other, sometimes on their bucklers, they withstood the attack of the Romans: which, when the consul observed, in order to break their ranks, he ordered Caius Livius Salinator, commander of the allied cavalry, to charge them at full speed, and the legionary cavalry to remain in reserve. This shock of the cavalry, first, confused and disordered; and, at length, entirely broke the line of the Gauls; yet it did not make them fly. That was prevented by their officers, who, when they quitted their posts in disorder, struck them on the back, with their spears, and compelled them to return into their ranks; but the allied cavalry, riding in among them, did not suffer them to recover their order. The consul exhorted

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his soldiers to "continue their efforts a little longer, for victory was within their reach; to press the enemy, while they saw them disordered and dismayed; for, if they were suffered to recover their ranks, they would fight a fresh battle, over again, the success of which would be uncertain." He ordered the standard-bearers to advance with the standards, and then, all exerting themselves at once, they at length forced the enemy to give way. As soon as they turned their backs, and fled precipitately on every side, the legionary cavalry was sent in pursuit of them. On that day, fourteen thousand of the Boians were slain, one thousand and ninety-two taken, as were seven hundred and twenty-one horsemen, and three of their commanders, with two hundred and twelve military standards, and sixty-three chariots. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without loss of blood: of themselves, or their allies, were lost above five thousand men; twenty-three centurions, four præfects of the allies, and two military tribunes of the second legion, Marcus Genucius and Marcus Marcius.

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VI. LETTERS from both the consuls arrived at Rome, nearly at the same time. That of Lucius Cornelius gave an account of the battle fought with the Boians, at Mutina; that of Quintus Minucius, from Pisæ, mentioned, that "the holding of the elections had fallen to his lot, but that affairs in Liguria were in such a critical posture, that he could not leave that country without bringing ruin on the allies, and material injury on the commonwealth. He therefore advised, that if the senate thought proper, they should send to his colleague, as in his province the fate of the war was determined, to go home to Rome to hold the elections. He said, if his colleague should object to this, because that employment had not fallen to his lot, he would certainly do whatever the senate

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“ should order ; but he begged them to consider
 “ carefully, whether it would not be less injurious to
 “ the public, that an interregnum should take place,
 “ than that the province should be left by him in
 “ such a state.” The senate gave directions to Caius
 Scribonius to send two deputies, of senatorian rank,
 to the consul, Lucius Cornelius, to communicate to
 him the letter, sent by his colleague to the senate,
 and to acquaint him, that if he did not come to
 Rome to elect new magistrates, the senate were re-
 solved, rather than Quintus Minucius should be
 called away from a war, in which no progress had
 been made, to suffer an interregnum to take place.
 The deputies sent, brought back his answer, that he
 would come to Rome, to elect new magistrates.
 The letter of Lucius Cornelius, which contained an
 account of the battle with the Boians, occasioned a
 debate in the senate ; for Marcus Claudius, lieute-
 nant-general, in private letters to many of the mem-
 bers of the senate, had written, “ that they might
 “ thank the fortune of the Roman people, and the
 “ bravery of the soldiers, for the success of their
 “ arms. That the conduct of the consul had been
 “ the cause of a great many men being lost, and of
 “ the enemy’s army, which might have been entire-
 “ ly cut off, making its escape. That what made
 “ the loss of men the greater, was, the reinforce-
 “ ments, necessary to support them when distressed,
 “ coming up too late from the reserve ; and that,
 “ what enabled the enemy to slip out of their hands,
 “ was, the signal being given too late to the legion-
 “ ary cavalry, and their not being allowed to pursue
 “ the fugitives.” It was agreed, that no resolution
 should be hastily passed on the subject ; and the bu-
 siness was accordingly adjourned, until there should
 be a fuller meeting.

VII. ANOTHER concern demanded their atten-
 tion. The public was heavily distressed by usurious
 practices ;

practices; and although avarice had been restricted by many laws, respecting usury, yet these had been evaded by a fraudulent artifice, of transferring the securities to subjects of some of the allied states, who were not bound by those laws; by which means usurers, freed from all restraint, overwhelmed their debtors under accumulated loads. On considering of the best method for putting a stop to this evil, the senate decreed, that a certain day should be fixed, the next approaching festival of the infernal deities; that any of the allies who should, after that day, lend money to the Roman citizens, should register the transaction; and that all proceedings respecting such money, lent after that day, should be regulated by the laws of whichever of the two states the debtor should choose. In some time after, when the great amount of debt, contracted through this kind of fraud, was discovered, by means of the registries, Marcus Sempronius, plebeian tribune, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered, that all proceedings relative to money lent, between Roman citizens and subjects of any of the allied states, or Latine confederacy, should be regulated by the same laws as those, wherein both parties were Roman citizens. Such were the transactions in Italy, civil and military. In Spain, the war was far from being so formidable, as the exaggerations of report had represented it. In hither Spain, Caius Flaminius took the town of Ilucia, in the country of the Oretanians, and then marched his army into winter-quarters. Several engagements took place during the winter, but none deserving of particular mention, the adversaries being rather bands of robbers, than regular soldiers; and yet the success was various, and some men were lost. More important services were performed by Marcus Fulvius. He fought a pitched battle, near the town of Toletum, against the Vaccæans, Vætonians, and Celti-

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XXXV. forces, and took prisoner their king, Hilermus.

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VIII. WHILE this passed in Spain, the day of election drawing near, Lucius Cornelius, consul, left Marcus Claudius, lieutenant-general, in command of the army, and came to Rome. After representing in the senate the services which he had performed, and the present state of the province, he expostulated with the Conscript Fathers on their not having ordered a thanksgiving to the immortal gods, when so great a war was so happily terminated by one successful battle: and then demanded, that a thanksgiving might be decreed to the gods, and, at the same time, a triumph to himself. But, before the question was put, Quintus Metellus, who had been consul and dictator, said, that " letters had
 " been brought, at the same time, from the consul,
 " Lucius Cornelius, to the senate, and from Marcus
 " Marcellus, to a great part of the senators; which
 " letters contradicted each other, and for that reason
 " the consideration of the business had been ad-
 " journed, in order that it might be debated when
 " the writers of those letters should be present. He
 " had expected, therefore, that the consul, who
 " knew that the lieutenant-general had written some-
 " thing to his disadvantage, would, when he was
 " coming home, have brought the other with him
 " to Rome; especially, as the command of the army
 " would, with more propriety, have been com-
 " mitted to Tiberius Sempronius, who was already
 " invested with authority, than to the lieutenant-
 " general. As the case stood at present, it appeared
 " as if the latter was kept out of the way, designed-
 " ly, lest he might assert, in person, the same things
 " which he had written in his letters; and, face to
 " face, either substantiate his charges, or, if his
 " allegations were ill-founded, be convicted of mis-
 " repre-

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"representation, so that the truth would be clearly
"discovered. For this reason he was of opinion,
"that the senate should not, at present, assent to
"either of the decrees demanded by the consul." B. H. H.
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The latter, nevertheless, persisted in putting the question, on a thanksgiving being ordered, and himself allowed to ride into the city in triumph; but two plebeian tribunes, Marcus and Caius Titinius, declared, that they would enter their protest, if the senate passed any decree on the subject.

IX. In the preceding year, Sextus Ælius Pætus, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, were created censors. Cornelius now closed the lustrum. The number of citizens rated, was an hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and four. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell in this year, and the Tiber overflowed the lower parts of the city; by which inundation some buildings, near the Flumentan gate, were laid in ruins. The Cælimontan gate was struck by lightning, as was the wall on each side of it, in several places. At Aricia, Lanuvium, and on the Aventine, showers of stones fell. From Capua, a report was brought, that a very large swarm of wasps flew into the Forum, and pitched on the temple of Mars; that they had been carefully collected, and burned with fire. On account of these prodigies, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books; the nine days' festival was celebrated, a supplication proclaimed, and the city purified. At the same time, Marcus Portius Cato dedicated a chapel to Maiden Victory, near the temple of Victory, two years after he had vowed it. During this year, a Latine colony was established in the Thurian territory, by commissioners appointed for the purpose, Cneius Manlius Vulso, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Quintus Ælius Tubero, who had proposed the order for its settlement. There went out thither, three thousand foot, and three hundred horsemen; a very small
number

number in proportion to the quantity of land lying waste. Thirty acres might have been given to each footman, and sixty to a horseman, but, by the advice of Apustius, a third part of the land was reserved, that they might afterwards, when they should judge proper, send out thither a new colony. The footmen received twenty acres each, the horsemen forty.

X. THE year was now near a close, and, with regard to the election of consuls, the heat of competition was kindled to a degree beyond what was ever known before. The candidates, both patrician and plebeian, were many and powerful: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, and who had lately come home from Spain, where he had gained great honour by his exploits; Lucius Quintus Flamininus, who had commanded the fleet in Greece, and Cneius Manlius Vulso: these were the patricians. Then there were, of plebeian rank, Caius Lælius, Cneius Domitius, Caius Livius Salinator, and Marius Acilius. The eyes of all men were turned on Quintus and Cornelius; for, being both patricians, they sued for one place; and they were both of them recommended by high and recent renown in war. Above every thing else, the brothers of the candidates, the two most illustrious generals of the age, increased the violence of the struggle. Scipio's fame was the more splendid, and, in proportion to its greater splendour, the more obnoxious to envy. Quintus's was the more recent, as he had triumphed in the course of that very same year. Besides, the former had now, for almost ten years, been continually in people's sight; which circumstance, by the mere satiety which it creates, diminishes the reverence felt for great characters. He had been, a second time, consul, after the final defeat of Hannibal, and also censor. All Quintus's claims to the favour of the public were fresh and recent; since his triumph, he had neither asked, nor received, any thing from the people;

people; "he solicited," he said, "in favour of his own brother, not of a half-brother; in favour of his lieutenant-general, and partner in the administration of the war; his brother having conducted the operations by sea, while he did the same on land." Such were the arguments by which he carried his point; and his brother was preferred to the candidate supported by such a brother as Africanus, by the whole Cornelian family, while one of the same family presided at the election, and by the very honourable testimony given by the senate, in his favour, when they judged him to be the best man in the state; and, as such, appointed him to receive the Idæan Mother into the city, when she was brought from Pessinus. Lucius Quintius, and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, were elected consuls; so that, not even with respect to the plebeian consul, could Africanus prevail; for he employed his interest in favour of Caius Lælius. Next day were elected prætors, Lucius Stribonius Libo, Marcus Fulvius Centumalus, Aulus Atilius Serranus, Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, Lucius Valerius Tappus, and Quintus Saloniæ Sarra. The ædiles of this year, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Æmilius Paulus, distinguished themselves highly: they prosecuted to conviction many of the farmers of the public pastures, and, with the money accruing from the fines, placed gilded shields in the upper part of the temple of Jupiter. They built one colonnade, on the outside of the gate Tergemina, to which they added a wharf on the Tiber; and another, reaching from the Frontinal gate to the altar of Mars, to serve as a passage into the field of Mars.

XI. For a long time, nothing worth recording had occurred in Liguria; but, towards the end of this year, the Roman affairs there were twice brought into great peril; for the consul's camp being assaulted, was, with difficulty, saved from falling into the enemy's

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enemy's hands; and, in a short time after, as the Roman army was marching through a defile, the army of the Ligurians seized on the opening through which they were to pass. The consul, when he found that passage stopped up, faced about, resolved to return by the way he came: but the entrance behind, also, was occupied by a party of the enemy, and the disaster of Caudium not only occurred to the memory of the Romans, but was, in a manner, represented to their eyes. The consul had, among his auxiliary troops, about eight hundred Numidian horsemen, whose commanding officer undertook, to the consul, to force a passage with his troops, on whichever side he chose. He only desired to be told, on which side the greater number of villages lay; for, on them he meant to make an attack; and the first thing he intended doing was, to set fire to the houses, in order that the alarm, which this should occasion, might induce the Ligurians to quit their posts in the defile, and hasten to different quarters to the relief of their friends. The consul highly commended his zeal, and gave him assurance of ample rewards. The Numidians mounted their horses, and began to ride up to the advanced posts of the enemy, but without making any attack. Nothing could appear, on the first view, more contemptible. Both men and horses were of a small size, and thin make; the riders unaccoutred, and unarmed, excepting that they carried javelins in their hands; and the horses without bridles, and awkward in their gait, running with their necks stiff, and their heads stretched out. The contempt, conceived from their appearance, they took pains to increase; sometimes falling from their horses, and making themselves objects of derision and ridicule. The consequence was, that the enemy, who, at first, had been alert, and ready on their posts, in case of an attack, now, for the most part, laid aside their arms, and sitting down, amused themselves with looking at them. The Numidians

often

often rode up, then galloped back, but still contrived to get nearer to the pass, as if they were unable to manage their horses, and were carried away against their will. At last, setting spurs to their horses, they broke out through the midst of the enemy's posts, and, getting into the open country, set fire to all the houses near the road. They soon set the nearest village in flames, and ravaged all around with fire and sword. At first, the sight of the smoke, then the shouts of the affrighted inhabitants of the villages, at last, the old people and children, who fled for shelter, created great disorder in the camp; in consequence of which, the whole of their army, without plan, and without command, ran off, each to take care of his own, the camp was, in a moment, deserted; and the consul, delivered from the blockade, made good his march to the place whither he intended to go.

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XII. But neither the Boians, nor the Spaniards, though professed enemies, at that time, were such bitter and inveterate foes to the Romans, as the nation of the Ætolians. These, after the departure of the Roman armies from Greece, had, for some time, entertained hopes, that Antiochus would come and take possession of Europe, without opposition; and that neither Philip nor Nabis would continue quiet. But, seeing no active measures begun, in any quarter, they resolved, lest their designs might be damped by delay, to set on foot some plan of disturbance; and, with this view, they summoned a general assembly at Naupactum. Here Thoas, their prætor, after complaining of the injurious behaviour of the Romans, and the present state of Ætolia, and asserting, that "of all the nations, and states, of Greece, they were treated with the greatest indifference, after the victory which they themselves had been the means of obtaining," moved, that ambassadors should be sent to each of the kings; not only to sound their

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BOOK XXXV. dispositions, but, by such incentives as suited the temper of each, to urge them to a war with Rome.

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B. C. 193. and Dicæarchus, the prætor's brother, to Antiochus. To the Lacedæmonian tyrant, Damocritus represented, that, "by the maritime cities being taken from him, his government was left quite destitute of strength; for, from them, he used to draw supplies of soldiers, as well as of ships and seamen. He was now pent up, almost within the walls of his capital, while he saw the Achæans domineering over the whole Peloponnesus. Never would he have another opportunity of recovering his rights, if he neglected to improve the one that now offered. There was no Roman army in Greece, nor would the Romans deem Gythium, or the other towns on the coast of Laconia, sufficient cause for transporting their legions a second time into Greece." These arguments were used for the purpose of provoking the passions of the tyrant; in order that, when Antiochus should come into Greece, the other, conscious of having infringed the treaty of amity with Rome, by injuries offered to its allies, might unite himself with him. Nicander endeavoured to rouse Philip, by arguments somewhat similar; and he had more copious matter for discourse, as the king had been degraded from a more elevated state than the tyrant, and had sustained greater losses. Besides these topics, he introduced the ancient renown of the Macedonian kings, and the victorious arms of that nation, displayed through every quarter of the globe. "The plan which he proposed," he said, "was free from any danger, either in the commencement, or in the issue. For he did not advise that Philip should stir, until Antiochus should have come over into Greece, with an army; and, considering that, without the aid of Antiochus, he had maintained a war so long against the combined forces of the Romans and

"Ætolians,

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“Ætolians, with what possible force could the Ro-
 “mans withstand him, when joined by Antiochus,
 “and supported by the aid of the Ætolians, who,
 “on the former occasion, were more dangerous
 “enemies than the Romans?” He added the cir-
 cumstance of Hannibal being general; “a man born
 “a foe to the Romans, who had slain greater num-
 “bers, both of their commanders and soldiers, than
 “were left surviving.” Such were the incitements
 held out to Philip by Nicander. Dicaearchus ad-
 dressed other arguments to Antiochus. In the first
 place, he told him, that “although the Romans
 “reaped the spoils of Philip, the honour of the vic-
 “tory over him was due to the Ætolians; that, to
 “the Ætolians, alone, the Romans were obliged,
 “for having gained admittance into Greece, and
 “that the Ætolian people supplied them with the
 “strength which enabled them to conquer.” He
 next told him, that the Ætolians furnished him with
 “ships, which they were willing to furnish to Antio-
 chus, for the purpose of the war; what quarters they
 would assign to his land-forces, what harbours for
 his ships. He then asserted whatever falsehoods he
 pleased, respecting Philip and Nabis; that “both
 “were ready to recommence hostilities, and would
 “greedily lay hold on the first opportunity of re-
 “covering what they had lost in war.” Thus did the
 Ætolians labour, in every part of the world, to stir
 up war against the Romans. Of the kings, however,
 one refused to engage in the business, and the other
 engaged in it too late.

XIII. NABIS immediately dispatched emissaries,
 through all the towns on the coast, to sow dissensions
 among the inhabitants: some of the men in power
 he brought over to his party, by presents; others,
 who more firmly adhered to the alliance with Rome,
 he put to death. The charge of protecting all the
 Lacedæmonians, on the coast, had been committed

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by Titus Quintius to the Achæans; they, therefore instantly sent ambassadors to the tyrant, to remind him of his treaty with the Romans, and to warn him against violating a peace which he had so earnestly sued for. They also sent succours to Gythium, which was already besieged by the tyrant, and ambassadors to Rome, to make known these transactions. King Antiochus having, this winter, solemnized the nuptials of his daughter with Ptolemy, king of Egypt, at Raphia, in Phœnicia, returned thence to Antioch, and came, towards the end of the winter, through Cilicia; after passing mount Taurus, to the city of Ephesus. Early in the spring, he sent his son Antiochus thence into Syria, to guard the remote frontiers of his dominions, lest, during his absence, any commotion might arise behind him; and then, he marched himself, with all his land-forces, to attack the Pisidians, inhabiting the country near Sida. At this time, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, the Roman ambassadors sent to Antiochus, as above mentioned, having received orders to wait on Eumenes, first came to Elæa, and thence went up to Pergamus, where Eumenes kept his court. Eumenes was very desirous of war being undertaken against Antiochus, for he thought, that if peace continued, a king, so much superior in power, would be a troublesome neighbour; but that, in case of a war, he would prove no more a match for the Romans, than Philip had been; and that either he would be entirely removed out of the way, or, should peace be granted to him, after a defeat, Eumenes might reasonably expect, that a great deal of what should be taken from him, would fall to his own share; so that, in future, he might be very well able to defend himself from him, without any aid from the Romans; and even if any misfortune were to happen, it would be better for him, in conjunction with the Romans, to undergo any turn of fortune, than, standing alone, either suffer himself to be ruled
by

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by Antiochus, or, on refusal, be compelled by force of arms. Therefore, with all his influence, and every argument which he could devise, he urged the Romans to a war.

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B. C. 193.

XIV. SULPICIUS, falling sick, staid at Pergamus. Villius, on hearing that the king was carrying on war in Pisidia, went on to Ephesus, and, during a few days, that he halted in that city, took pains to procure frequent interviews with Hannibal, who happened to be there at the time. His design was, merely, to discover his intentions, if possible, and to remove his apprehensions of danger threatening him from the Romans. No other business, of any kind, was mentioned at these meetings; yet they, accidentally, produced an important consequence, as effectually, as if it had been intentionally sought; the lowering Hannibal, in the esteem of the king, and rendering him more obnoxious to suspicion, in every matter. Claudius, following the history, written in Greek by Acilius, says, that Publius Africanus was employed in this embassy, and that it was he who conversed with Hannibal at Ephesus. He even relates one of their conversations, in which Scipio asked Hannibal, "whom he thought the greatest commander?" who answered, "Alexander, king of Macedonia; because, with a small band, he defeated armies whose numbers were beyond reckoning; and because he carried his victorious arms through the remotest boundaries of the world, the merely visiting of which, would be a task which no other man could hope to accomplish." Scipio then asked, "to whom he gave the second place?" and he replied, "to Pyrrhus; for he first taught the method of encamping; and besides, no one ever shewed more exquisite judgment, in choosing his ground, and disposing his posts; and he also possessed the art of conciliating esteem to such a degree, that the nations of Italy wished him, though

BOOK " a foreign prince, to hold the sovereignty among
 XXXV. " them, rather than the Romans, who had so long
 Y.R. 559. " possessed the dominion of that part of the world."
 B. C. 193. On his proceeding to ask, " whom he esteemed the
 " third?" Hannibal replied, " himself, beyond
 " doubt." On this, Scipio, smiling, said, " What
 " would you have said if you had conquered me?"
 " Then," replied the other, " I would have placed
 " myself, not only, before Alexander, and Pyrrhus,
 " but before every other commander that ever
 " lived." This answer, conveying, with a turn of
 Punic artifice, an indirect compliment, and this un-
 expected kind of flattery, was highly grateful to
 Scipio, as it set him apart from the crowd of com-
 manders, beyond competition, as if his abilities were
 not to be estimated.

XV. FROM Ephesus, Villius proceeded to Apamea, whither Antiochus, on hearing of the coming of the Roman ambassadors, came to meet him. In this congress, at Apamea, the debates were similar to those which passed at Rome, between Quintius and the king's ambassadors; and the conferences were broken off, by news arriving of the death of Antiochus, the king's son, who, as just now mentioned, had been sent into Syria. This youth was greatly lamented and regretted at court; for he had given such specimens of his character, as afforded evident proof, that, had a longer life been allotted him, he would have displayed the talents of a great and just prince. The more he was beloved and esteemed by all, the stronger were the suspicions excited by his death; that his father, thinking that his heir shared too largely of the public favour, while he himself was declining in old age, had him taken off by poison, by some eunuchs, a kind of people who recommend themselves to kings, by the perpetration of such foul deeds. People mentioned also, as another motive for that clandestine act of villany,
 that,

that, as he had given Lyfimachia to his son Seleucus, he had no establishment of the like kind, which he could give to Antiochus, for the purpose of banishing him also to a distance, under pretext of doing him honour. Nevertheless, an appearance of deep mourning was maintained in the court, for several days; and the Roman ambassador, lest his presence at that inconvenient time might be troublesome, retired to Pergamus. The king, dropping the prosecution of the war which he had begun, went back to Ephesus; and there, keeping himself shut up in the palace, under colour of grief, held secret consultations with a person called Minio, who was his principal favourite. Minio was utterly ignorant of the state of all foreign nations; and, accordingly, estimating the strength of the king, from his successes in Syria or Asia, he was confident, not only, that Antiochus had the advantage in the merits of his cause, the demands of the Romans being highly unreasonable; but also, that he would prove superior in war. As the king wished to avoid farther debate with the ambassadors, either because he had found no advantage to result from the former, or because he was too much discomposed by recent grief, Minio undertook to say whatever was requisite for his interest, and persuaded him to send for the ambassadors from Pergamus.

XVI. By this time Sulpicius had recovered his health, they both, therefore, came to Ephesus. Minio apologized for the king not being present, and the business was entered upon. Then Minio, in a studied speech, said, "I see, Romans, that you
 " profess very specious intentions, the liberating of
 " the Grecian states, but your actions do not accord
 " with your words. You lay down one rule for
 " Antiochus, and follow another yourselves. For,
 " how are the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus
 " better entitled to the character of Greeks, than
 " the

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“ the Neapolitans, Rhegians, and Tarentines, from
 “ whom you exact tribute, and ships, in pursuance
 “ of a treaty? Why do you send, yearly, to Syra-
 “ cuse, and other Grecian cities of Sicily, a prætor,
 “ vested with sovereign power, and attended by his
 “ rods and axes? You can, certainly, allege no
 “ other reason than this, that, having conquered
 “ them in war, you imposed these terms on them.
 “ Admit then, on the part of Antiochus, the same
 “ reason, with respect to Smyrna, and Lampascus,
 “ and the cities belonging to Ionia and Æolia.
 “ Conquered by his ancestors, they were subjected
 “ to tribute and taxes, and he only reclaims an
 “ ancient right. Answer him, on these heads, if you
 “ mean a fair discussion, and do not merely seek a
 “ pretence for war.” Sulpicius answered, “ An-
 “ tiochus has shewn some modesty, in choosing,
 “ that, since no other arguments could be produced
 “ in his favour, any other person should utter these,
 “ rather than himself. For, what similarity is there
 “ in the cases of those states, which you have
 “ brought into comparison? From the Rhegians,
 “ Neapolitans, and Tarentines, we require what
 “ they owe us by treaty, in virtue of a right invari-
 “ ably exercised, in one uniform course, since they
 “ first came under our power; a right always assert-
 “ ed, and never intermitted. Now, can you assert,
 “ that, as these states have neither of themselves,
 “ or through any other, ever refused conforming to
 “ the treaty, so the Asiatic states, since they once
 “ came under the power of Antiochus’s ancestors,
 “ have been held in uninterrupted possession, by
 “ your reigning kings; and that some of them have
 “ not been under the dominion of Philip, some
 “ under that of Ptolemy; and that others of them
 “ have not, for many years, maintained themselves
 “ in a state of independence; their title to which
 “ was not called in question? For, if the circum-
 “ stance of their having been once subject to a
 “ foreigner,

“ foreigner, when crushed under the severity of the
 “ times, conveys a right to enforce that subjection
 “ again, after a lapse of so many generations, what
 “ can be said of our having delivered Greece from
 “ Philip, but that we have laboured in vain; and
 “ that his successors may reclaim Corinth, Chalcis,
 “ Demetrias, and the whole nation of Thessaly?
 “ But why do I plead the cause of those states,
 “ which it would be fitter that we and the king him-
 “ self should hear pleaded by themselves?”

XVII. He then desired, that the deputies of those states should be called, for they had been prepared beforehand, and kept in readiness, by Eumenes, who reckoned, that every share of strength that should be taken away from Antiochus, would become an accession to his own kingdom. Many of them were introduced; and, while each enforced his own complaints, and sometimes demands, some reasonable, many unreasonable, they changed the debate into a mere altercation. The ambassadors, therefore, without conceding, or carrying, any one point, returned to Rome, and left every thing in the same unsettled state, in which they found it. On their departure the king held a council, on the subject of a war with Rome, in which all the members vied with each other, in the violence of their harangues; for every one thought, that the greater acrimony he shewed toward the Romans, the greater share of favour he might expect to obtain. One inveighed against the insolence of their demands, in which they presume to impose terms on Antiochus, the greatest king in Asia, as they would on the vanquished Nabis. “ Al-
 “ though to Nabis they left absolute power, over
 “ his own country, and its capital, Ierusalem, yet
 “ they insist on the impropriety of Smyrna and
 “ Lampacus yielding obedience to Antiochus.”—
 Others said, that “ to so great a monarch, those
 “ cities were but a trivial ground of war, scarcely
 “ worth

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“ worth mention ; but unjust pretensions to authority were always urged, at first, in matters of little consequence ; unless, indeed, it could be supposed, that the Persians, when they demanded earth and water from the Lacedæmonians, stood in need of a morsel of earth or a draught of water. The proceedings of the Romans, respecting the two cities, were meant as a trial of the same sort. The rest of the states, when they saw that two had shaken off the yoke, would go over to the party of that nation which professed the patronage of liberty. If freedom was not actually preferable to servitude, yet the hope of bettering their own circumstances, by a change, was more flattering to every one than any present situation.”

XVIII. THERE was, in the council, an Acarnanian named Alexander, who had formerly been a friend of Philip, but had lately left him to follow the more opulent court of Antiochus. This man, being well skilled in the affairs of Greece, and not unacquainted with the Romans, was admitted by the king into such a degree of intimacy, that he shared even in his secret counsels. As if the question to be considered were not, whether there should be war, or not, but where, and in what manner, it should be carried on, he affirmed, that “ he saw an assured prospect of victory, provided the king would go over into Europe, and choose some part of Greece for the seat of war. In the first place, the Ætolians, who lived in the centre of Greece, would be found in arms, ready to take the lead in the most perilous operations of war. Then, in the two extremities of Greece, Nabis, on the side of Peloponnesus, would put every thing in motion, to recover the city of Argos, and the maritime cities, from which he had been expelled by the Romans, and pent up within the walls of Lacedæmon. And, on the side of Macedonia,

" donia, Philip would take arms the moment he
 " heard the alarm sounded. He knew," he said, BOOK XXXV.
 " his spirit, he knew his temper; he knew that, as Y. R. 559.
 " is the case with wild beasts, confined by bars or B. C. 193.
 " chains, for a long time past, he retained the most
 " violent rage, boiling in his breast. He remem-
 " bered, also, how often, during the war, that
 " prince had prayed to all the gods to grant him
 " Antiochus as an assistant; and, if that prayer were
 " now fulfilled, he would not hesitate an instant to
 " resume his arms. All that was requisite was, that
 " there should be no delay, no procrastination; for
 " success depended, chiefly, on securing, before-
 " hand, commodious posts, and proper allies: be-
 " sides, Hannibal ought to be sent, without delay,
 " into Africa, in order to distract the attention of
 " the Romans."

XIX. HANNIBAL was not called to this consulta-
 tion, because the king had harboured suspicions of
 him on account of his conferences with Villius, and
 had not since shewn him any mark of regard. This
 affront, at first, he bore in silence; but, afterwards,
 thought it better to take some proper opportunity
 to inquire the reason of the king's suddenly with-
 drawing his favour, and to clear himself of blame.
 Without any preface, he asked the cause of the
 king's displeasure; and, on being told it, said, "An-
 " tiochus, when I was yet an infant, my father Ha-
 " milcar, at a time when he was offering sacrifice,
 " brought me up to the altars, and made me take
 " an oath, that I never would be a friend to the
 " Roman people. Under the obligation of this
 " oath, I carried arms against them for thirty-six
 " years; this oath, on peace being made, drove me
 " out of my country, and brought me an exile to
 " your court: and this oath shall guide me, should
 " you disappoint my hopes, until I traverse every
 " quarter of the globe, where I can understand that
 " there

BOOK XXXV. "there is either strength or arms, to find out some
Y. R. 559. "enemies to the Romans. If, therefore, some of
B. C. 193. "your courtiers have conceived the idea of ingra-
 tiating themselves with you, by insinuating suspi-
 cions of me, let them seek some other means of
 advancing their own reputation, than the depress-
 ing of mine. I hate, and am hated by, the Ro-
 mans. That I speak the truth in this, my father
 Hamilcar, and the gods are witnesses. When-
 ever, therefore, you shall employ your thoughts
 on a plan of waging war with Rome, consider
 Hannibal as one of your firmest friends. If cir-
 cumstances force you to adopt peaceful measures,
 on such a subject employ some other counsellor."
 This discourse affected the king much, and even re-
 conciled him to Hannibal. The resolution of the
 council, at their breaking up, was, that the war
 should be undertaken.

Y. R. 560. XX. At Rome, people talked, indeed, of a war
B. C. 192. with Antiochus as an event very likely to happen,
 but, except talking of it, they had hitherto made no
 preparation. Italy was decreed the province of
 both the consuls, who received directions, to settle
 between themselves, or draw lots, which of them
 should preside at the elections of the year; and it
 was ordered, that he who should be disengaged from
 that business, should hold himself in readiness, in
 case there should be occasion, to lead the legions
 any where out of Italy. This consul had leave given
 him to levy two new legions, and twenty thousand
 foot, and nine hundred horse, among the allies and
 Latine confederates. To the other consul were de-
 creed the two legions which had been commanded
 by Lucius Cornelius, consul of the preceding year;
 and, from the same army, a body of allies and La-
 tines, amounting to fifteen thousand foot, and five
 hundred horse. Quintus Minucius was continued
 in command, and had assigned to him the army
 which

which he then had in Liguria; as a supplement to which, four thousand Roman foot, and five hundred horse, were ordered to be enlisted, and five thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse, to be demanded from the allies. The province of going out of Italy, wherever the senate should order, fell to Cneius Domitius; Gaul, and the holding the elections, to Lucius Quintus. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces: to Marcus Fulvius Centumalus fell the city jurisdiction; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign; Lucius Valerius Tappus obtained Sicily; Quintus Saloniæ Sarra, Sardinia; Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, hither Spain; and Marcus Atilius Serranus, farther Spain. But the provinces of the two last were changed, first, by a decree of senate, which was afterwards confirmed by an order of the people. The fleet, and Macedonia, were assigned to Atilius; Bruttium to Bæbius. Flaminius and Fulvius, were continued in command in both the hither and farther Spain. To Bæbius Tamphilus, for the business of Bruttium, were decreed the two legions which had served in the city the year before; and he was ordered to demand from the allies, for the same service, fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Atilius was ordered to build thirty ships of five banks of oars; to bring out, from the docks, any old ones that were fit for service, and to raise seamen. An order was also given to the consul, to supply him with two thousand of the allied and Latine foot-men, and a thousand Roman. The destination of these two prætors, and their two armaments, one on land, and the other on sea, was declared to be intended against Nabis, who was now carrying on open hostilities against the allies of the Roman people. But it was thought proper to wait the return of the ambassadors sent to Antiochus, and the senate ordered the consul Cneius Domitius not to leave the city until they arrived.

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XXI. THE prætors, Fulvius and Scribonius, whose province was the administration of justice at Rome, were charged to provide an hundred quinqueremes, besides the fleet which Atilius was to command. Before the consul and prætors set out for their provinces, a supplication was performed on account of some prodigies. A report was brought from Picenum, that a goat had produced six kids at a birth. It was said, that a boy was born at Arretium who had but one hand; that, at Amiternum, a shower of earth fell; a gate and wall at Formiæ were struck by lightning; and, what was more alarming than all, an ox, belonging to the consul Cneius Domitius, spoke these words,—“Rome, take care of thyself.” To expiate the other prodigies, a supplication was performed; the ox was ordered by the aruspices to be carefully preserved and fed. The Tiber, pouring into the city with more destructive violence than last year, swept away two bridges, and many buildings, particularly about the Flumentan gate. A huge rock, loosened from its seat either by the rains, or by an earthquake, so slight that no other effect of it was perceived, tumbled down from the Capitol into the Jugarian street, and buried many people under it. In the country, many parts of which were overflowed, much cattle was carried away, and many houses thrown down. Previous to the arrival of the consul, Lucius Quintius, in his province, Quintus Minucius fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, in the territory of Pitæ, slew nine thousand of the enemy, and, putting the rest to flight, drove them into their camp, which was assaulted and defended with obstinate valour until night came on. During the night, the Ligurians stole away unobserved; and, at the first dawn, the Romans took possession of their deserted camp, where the quantity of booty was the less, because it was a frequent practice with the enemy to send home the spoil taken in the

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the country. Minucius, after this, allowed them no respite. From the territory of Pisæ, he marched into that of the Ligurians, and, with fire and sword, utterly destroyed their forts and towns, where the Roman soldiers were abundantly enriched with the spoils which the enemy had collected in Etruria and sent home.

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XXII. ABOUT this time, the ambassadors, who had been sent to the kings, returned to Rome. As they brought no information, of such a nature as called for any immediate declaration of war, except against the Lacedæmonian tyrant, whom the Achæan ambassadors also represented as waging war on the sea-coast of Laconia, in breach of treaty, Atilius, the prætor, was sent with the fleet to Greece, for the protection of the allies. It was resolved, that, as there was nothing to be apprehended from Antiochus at present, both the consuls should go to their provinces; and, accordingly, Domitius marched into the country of the Boians, by the shorter road, through Ariminum, and Quintius through Liguria. The two armies of the consuls, proceeding by these different routes, spread devastation wide over the enemy's country. In consequence of which, first, a few of their horsemen, with their commanders, then their whole senate, and, at last, all who possessed either property or dignity, to the number of one thousand five hundred, came over, and joined the consuls. In both Spains, likewise, success attended the Roman arms during this year. For, in one, Caius Flaminius, after a siege, took Litabrum, a strong and opulent city, and made prisoner Corribilo, a powerful chieftain; and, in the other, Marcus Fulvius, proconsul, fought two battles, with two armies of the enemy, and was victorious in both. He took Vescelia and Holo, towns belonging to the Spaniards, with many of their forts, and others voluntarily came over to him. Then, advancing
into

BOOK XXXV. into the territory of Oretum, and having, there also, taken two cities, Noliba and Cusibis, he proceeded to the river Tagus. Here stood Toletum, a small city, but strong from its situation. While he was besieging this place, a numerous army of Vectonians came to relieve their friends in the town, but he overthrew them in a general engagement, and, after their defeat, took Toletum by means of his works.

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XXIII. At this juncture, the wars, in which they were actually engaged, caused not so great anxiety in the minds of the senate, as the expectation of one, not yet commenced, with Antiochus. For although, through their ambassadors, they had, from time to time, made careful inquiries into every particular; yet rumours, rashly propagated, without authentic foundation, intermixed many falsehoods with the truth. Among the rest, a report was spread, that Antiochus intended, as soon as he should come into Ætolia, to send a fleet immediately to Sicily. The senate, therefore, though they had already sent the prætor, Atilius, with a fleet to Greece, yet, considering that not only a military force, but also the influence of characters entitled to respect, would be necessary towards securing the attachment of the allies, they sent into Greece, in quality of ambassadors, Titus Quintius, Caius Octavius, Cneius Servilius, and Publius Villius; and ordered, in their decree, that Marcus Bæbius should lead forward his legions from Bruttium to Tarentum and Brundisium, in order that, if occasion required, he might transport them thence into Macedonia; and also, that Marcus Fulvius, prætor, should send a fleet of thirty ships to protect the coast of Sicily; and that, whoever commanded that fleet, should be invested with the authority of a commander in chief. To this commission was appointed Lucius Oppius Salinator, who had been plebeian ædile the year before. They ordered, likewise, that the same prætor should write

to his colleague, Lucius Valerius, that "there was
 " reason to apprehend that the fleet of king Antio-
 " chus would pass over from Ætolia to Sicily; for
 " which reason the senate judged it proper, that,
 " in addition to the army, which he then had, he
 " should enlist tumultuary soldiers, to the number
 " of twelve thousand foot, and four hundred horse,
 " which might enable him to defend that coast of
 " his province which lay next to Greece." These
 troops the prætor collected, not only out of Sicily,
 but from the circumjacent islands; and he placed
 strong garrisons in all the towns on the coast oppo-
 site to Greece. The rumours already current, were,
 in some degree, confirmed by the arrival of Attalus,
 the brother of Eumenes; for he brought intelligence,
 that king Antiochus had crossed the Hellespont with
 his army, and that the Ætolians were putting them-
 selves into such a posture, that, when he arrived, he
 expected to find them in arms. Thanks were given
 to Eumenes, in his absence, and to Attalus, who was
 present; and an order was passed, that the latter
 should be furnished with a house, and every accom-
 modation; that he should be presented with two
 horses, two suits of horseman's armour, vases of
 silver to an hundred pounds weight, and of gold to
 twenty pounds.

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 Y. R. 569.
 B. C. 192.

XXIV. As repeated accounts were continually
 arriving, that the war was on the point of breaking
 out, it was judged expedient that consuls should be
 elected as soon as possible. Wherefore the senate
 passed a decree, that the prætor, Marcus Fulvius,
 should instantly dispatch a letter to the consul, in-
 forming him, that it was the will of the senate that
 he should leave the command of the province and
 army to his lieutenant-generals, and return to Rome;
 and that, when on the road, he should send on be-
 fore him an edict appointing the day for the election
 of consuls. The consul complied with the letter;
 and,

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and, having sent forward the edict, arrived at Rome. There was, this year also, a warm competition, three patricians suing for one place: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, who had suffered a disappointment the year before; Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and Cneius Manlius Vulso. The consulship was conferred on Publius Scipio, that it might appear that the honour had only been delayed, and not refused, to a person of such character. The plebeian colleague, joined with him, was Manius Acilius Glabrio. Next day were created prætors, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Cornelius Mammula, Caius Livius, and Lucius Oppius; the two last, both of them, surnamed Salinator. This was the same Oppius who had conducted the fleet of thirty ships to Sicily. While the new magistrates were settling the distribution of their provinces, orders were dispatched to Marcus Bæbius, to pass over, with all his forces, from Brundisium to Epirus, and to keep the army near Apollonia; and Marcus Fulvius, city prætor, was commissioned to build fifty new quinqueremes.

XXV. Such were the precautions taken by the Roman people to guard against every attempt of Antiochus. At this time, Nabis did not disavow his hostile intentions, but, with his utmost force, carried on the siege of Gythium; and, being incensed against the Achæans, for having sent succours to the besieged, he ravaged their lands. The Achæans would not presume to engage in war, until their ambassadors should come back from Rome, and acquaint them with the sentiments of the senate; but as soon as these returned, they summoned a council at Sicyon, and also sent deputies to Titus Quintius to ask his advice. In the council, all the members were inclined to vote for an immediate declaration of war; but a letter from Titus Quintius, in which
he

he recommended waiting for the Roman prætor, and fleet, caused some hesitation. While some of the members persisted in their first opinion, and others arguing that they ought to follow the counsel of the person to whom they of themselves had applied for advice, the generality waited to hear the sentiments of Philopæmen. He was prætor at the time, and surpassed all his contemporaries, both in wisdom and influence. He first observed, that "it was a wise rule, established among the Achæans, that their prætor, when he proposed a question concerning war, should not himself have a vote:" and then he desired them to "fix their determination among themselves as soon as they could," assuring them, that "their prætor would faithfully and carefully carry their decrees into execution; and would use his best endeavours, that, as far as depended on human prudence, they should not repent of them, whether they were for peace or war." These words conveyed a more efficacious incitement to war, than if, by openly arguing in favour of it, he had betrayed an ambition to distinguish himself in command. War was therefore unanimously resolved on: the time and mode of conducting it, were entirely left to the judgment of the prætor. Philopæmen's own judgment, besides its being the opinion of Quintius, pointed it out as best to wait for the Roman fleet, which might succour Gythium by sea; but he feared that the business would not endure delay, and that not only Gythium, but the party which had been sent to its aid, would fall into the hands of the enemy, and therefore he drew out to sea what ships the Achæans had.

XXVI. THE tyrant also, with the view of cutting off any supplies that might be brought to the besieged by sea, had fitted out a small fleet, consisting of only three ships of war, with some barks and cutters, as his former fleet had been given up to the

BOOK XXXV. Romans, according to the treaty. In order to try the activity of these ships, as they were then new, and to have every thing in fit condition for a battle, he put out to sea every day, and exercised both the rowers and marines in mock-fights; for he thought that all his hopes of succeeding in the siege, depended on his preventing any succours being brought to them by sea. The prætor of the Achæans, although, in respect of skill for conducting operations on land, he was equal to any of the most celebrated commanders, both in capacity and experience, yet, in naval affairs, he was quite unexperienced; being an inhabitant of Arcadia, an inland country, he was even unacquainted with any foreign affairs, excepting, that he had once served in Crete as a commander of a body of auxiliaries. There was an old ship of four banks of oars, which had been taken eighty years before, as it was conveying Nicæa, the wife of Craterus, from Naupactum to Corinth. Led by the reputation of this ship, for it had been reckoned a remarkable fine vessel, in the king's fleet, he ordered it, though now quite rotten, and falling asunder through age, to be brought out from Ægium. While the fleet sailed with this ship at its head, Tiso of Patræ, commander of the fleet, being on board it, the ships of the Lacedæmonians, from Gythium, came within view; and, at the first shock, against a new and firm vessel, that old one, which before admitted the water through every joint, was shattered to pieces, and the whole crew were made prisoners. On the loss of the commander's ship, the rest of the fleet fled as fast as their oars could carry them. Philopæmen himself made his escape in a light advice-boat, nor did he stop his flight until he arrived at Patræ. This untoward event did not in the least damp the spirit of a man so well versed in military affairs, and who had experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune. On the contrary as he had failed of success in the naval line, in which

he had no experience, he even conceived, thence, the greater hopes of succeeding in another, wherein experience had taught him knowledge; and he affirmed, that he would quickly put an end to the tyrant's rejoicing.

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XXVII. NABIS, elated with this success, and confident that he had not now any danger to apprehend from the sea, resolved to shut up the passages, on the land also, by parties stationed in proper posts. With this view, he drew off a third part of his forces from the siege of Gythium, and encamped them at Bææ, a place which commands both Leucæ and Acrizæ, on the road by which he supposed the enemy's army would advance. While he lay in this post, where very few of his men had tents, and the generality of them had formed huts of reeds interwoven, which they covered with leaves of trees, to serve as a defence from the weather, Philopæmen, before he came within sight, resolved to surprise him by an attack of such a kind as he did not expect. He drew together a number of small ships, in a remote creek, on the coast of the territory of Argos, and embarked on board them a body of light-armed soldiers, mostly targeteers, furnished with slings, javelins, and other light kinds of weapons. He then coasted along the shore, until he came to a promontory near the enemy's camp. Here he landed, and made his way, by night, through paths with which he was well acquainted, to Bææ. He found the centinels fast asleep, for they had not conceived the least apprehension of an enemy being near, and he immediately set fire to the huts, in every part of the camp. Great numbers perished in the flames, before they could discover the enemy's arrival, and those who did discover it, could give no assistance; so that the whole was destroyed by fire and sword. From both these means of destruction, however, a very small number made their escape, and fled to

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the principal camp, before Gythium. Philopæmen having, by this blow, given a severe check to the presumption of the enemy, led on his forces to ravage the district of Tripolis, a part of the Lacedæmonian territory, lying next to the frontiers of Megalopolis; and carrying off thence a vast number of men and cattle, withdrew before the tyrant could send a force from Gythium to protect the country. He then collected his whole force at Tegea, to which place he summoned a council of the Achæans, and their allies; at which were present, also, deputies from the Epirots and Acarnanians. Here it was resolved, that, as the minds of his men were now sufficiently recovered from the shame of the disgrace suffered at sea, and those of the enemy dispirited, he should march directly to Lacedæmon; for that was judged to be the only effectual means to draw off the enemy from the siege of Gythium. On entering the enemy's country, he encamped the first day at Caryæ, and, on that very day, Gythium was taken. Ignorant of that event, Philopæmen advanced to the Barbosthènes, a mountain ten miles from Lacedæmon. On the other side, Nabis, after taking possession of Gythium, set out, at the head of a body of light troops, marched hastily by Lacedæmon, and seized on a place called the Camp of Pyrrhus, which post he believed the Achæans intended to occupy. From thence, he proceeded to meet the enemy. The latter being obliged, by the narrowness of the road, to extend their train to a great length, occupied a space of almost five miles. The cavalry, and the greatest part of the auxiliaries, covered the rear, Philopæmen expecting that the tyrant would attack him, on that quarter, with his mercenary troops, in whom he placed his principal confidence. Two unforeseen circumstances, at once, filled him with uneasiness: one, the post at which he aimed being pre-occupied; the other, the enemy having met him in front, where, as the road lay through

through very uneven ground, he did not see how the battalions could advance, without the support of the light troops.

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XXVIII. PHILOPÆMEN was possessed of an admirable degree of skill, and experience, in conducting a march, and choosing his ground; having made these points his principal study, not only in times of war, but likewise during peace. Whenever he travelled any where, and came to a defile where the passage was difficult, it was his practice, first, to examine the nature of the ground on every side; and then, if he travelled alone, he meditated within himself; if he had company, he asked them, "if an enemy should appear in that place, what would be the proper method of proceeding; what, if they should attack him in front; what, if on this flank, or on that; what, if on the rear? For he might happen to meet them, while his men were formed with a regular front; or when they were in the loose order of march, fit only for the road." He would proceed to examine, either in his own thoughts, or by asking questions, "what ground he ought to choose; what number of soldiers; or what kind of arms (which was a very material point) he ought to employ; where he should deposit the baggage, where the soldiers' necessaries, where the unarmed multitude; what number, and what kind, of troops, he should employ to guard them, and whether it would be better to prosecute his march, as intended, or to return back by the way he came; what ground, also, he should choose for his camp; what space he should inclose within the lines; where he could be conveniently supplied with water; where a sufficiency of forage and wood could be had; which would be his safest road on decamping next day, and in what form the army should march." In such studies and inquiries he had, from his early years, so frequently

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exercised his thoughts, that on any emergency of the kind occurring, no expedient that could be devised was new to him. On this occasion, he, first, ordered the army to halt; then, sent forward, to the van, the auxiliary Cretans, and the horsemen called Tarentines, each leading two spare horses; and, ordering the rest of the cavalry to follow, he seized on a rock which stood over a rivulet, from which he might be supplied with water. Here he collected together all the baggage, and all the sutlers and followers of the army, and placed a guard of soldiers round them; and then he fortified his camp, as the nature of the ground required. The pitching of tents, in such rugged and uneven ground, was a difficult task. The enemy were distant not more than five hundred paces. Both parties drew water from the same rivulet, under escorts of light troops; but, before any skirmish took place, as usual, between troops encamped so near to each other, night came on. It was evident, however, that they must, unavoidably, fight next day, at the rivulet, in support of the watering-parties. Wherefore, during the night, Philopæmen concealed, in a valley remote from the view of the enemy, as great a number of targeteers as could lie in the place undiscovered.

XXIX. AT break of day, the Cretan light-infantry, and the Tarentine horse, began an engagement, on the bank of the rivulet. Laternastus, a Cretan, commanded his countrymen; Lycortas, of Megalopolis, the cavalry. The enemy's watering-party, also, was guarded by Cretan auxiliaries, and Tarentine horsemen. The fight was, for a considerable time, doubtful, as the troops on both sides were of the same kind, and armed alike; but, as the contest advanced, the tyrant's auxiliaries gained an advantage, both by their superiority of numbers, and because Philopæmen had given directions to his officers, that, after maintaining the fight for a short time,

time, they should betake themselves to flight, and draw the enemy on to the place of the ambuscade. The latter, pursuing the runaways, in disorderly haste, through the valley, were most of them wounded and slain, before they discovered their concealed enemy. The targeteers had posted themselves, in such order, as far as the breadth of the valley allowed, that they easily gave a passage to their flying friends, through openings in their ranks; then, starting up themselves, hale, fresh, and in regular order, they briskly attacked the enemy, who had broken their ranks, and were scattered in confusion, and were, besides, exhausted with fatigue and wounds. This decided the victory: the tyrant's troops instantly turned their backs, and flying with much more precipitation than they had pursued, were driven into their camp. Great numbers were killed, and taken, in the pursuit; and the consternation would have spread through the camp also, had not Philopæmen ordered a retreat to be sounded: for he dreaded the ground, which was rough, and dangerous to advance on, without caution, more than he did the enemy. Judging, now, both from the issue of the battle, and from the disposition of the enemy's leader, that he was not a little dismayed, he sent to him one of the auxiliary soldiers in the character of a deserter, to assure him, positively, that the Achæans had resolved to advance, next day, to the river Eurotas, which runs almost close to the walls, in order to cut off the tyrant's retreat to the city, and to prevent any provisions being brought thence to the camp; and that they intended, at the same time, to try whether any could be prevailed on to desert the cause of the tyrant. Although the deserter did not gain implicit credit, yet he afforded the other, who was thoroughly frightened, a plausible pretext for leaving his camp. On the day following, he ordered Pythagoras, with the auxiliaries and cavalry, to mount guard before the rampart; and then, marching out himself, with the main body

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body of the army, as if intending to offer battle, he ordered them to return, with all haste, to the city.

XXX. WHEN Philopæmen saw their army marching, with precipitate haste, through a narrow, steep road, he sent all his cavalry, together with the Cretan auxiliaries, against the guard of the enemy, stationed in the front of their camp. These, seeing their adversaries approach, and perceiving that their friends had abandoned them, at first, attempted to retreat into the camp; but then, observing the whole army of the Achæans advancing, in order of battle, they were seized with fear, lest, together with the camp itself, they might be taken by the enemy; they resolved, therefore, to follow the body of the army, which, by this time, had proceeded a considerable way before them. Immediately, the targeteers of the Achæans assailed the camp, and the rest set out in pursuit of the enemy. The road was such, that a body of men, undisturbed by any fear of an enemy, could not, without difficulty, make its way through it. But, when an attack was made on their rear, and the shouts of terror, raised by the affrighted troops behind, reached to the van, they threw down their arms and fled different ways, every one as fast as he could, into the woods on each side of the road, and, in an instant of time, the road was stopped up with heaps of arms, particularly spears, which, falling mostly with their points toward the pursuers, formed a kind of palisade across the road. Philopæmen ordered the auxiliaries to push forward, as well as they could, and pursue the enemy, who would find it a difficult matter, the horsemen particularly, to continue their flight, and he himself led away the heavy troops, through more open ground to the river Eurotas. There, he pitched his camp a little before sunset, and waited for the light troops, which he had left in pursuit of the enemy. These arrived at the first watch, and brought intelligence, that Nabis,

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with a few attendants, had made his way into the city, and that the rest of his army, unarmed and dispersed, were straggling through all parts of the woods; whereupon, he ordered them to refresh themselves, while he himself chose out a party of men from the rest of the troops, who, having come earlier into camp, were, by this time, refreshed both with food and rest; and, ordering them to carry nothing with them but their swords, he marched them out, directly, and posted them in the roads which led from two of the gates, one towards Pheræ, the other towards the Barboithenes: for he supposed, that through these the flying enemy would endeavour to make their retreat. Nor was he disappointed therein; for the Lacedæmonians, as long as any light remained, retreated through the centre of the woods in the most retired paths. As soon as it grew dusk, and they saw lights in the enemy's camp, while they were opposite to it, they kept themselves in secret paths, concealed from view; but, having passed it by, they then thought that all was safe, and came down into the open roads, where they were intercepted by the parties lying in wait; and such numbers of them were killed, and taken, that, of the whole army, scarcely a fourth part effected their escape. As Nabis was now pent up within the city, Philopæmen employed the greatest part of thirty succeeding days, in ravaging the lands of the Lacedæmonians; and then, after greatly reducing, and almost annihilating, the strength of the tyrant, he returned home, while the Achæans extolled him as equal, in the merit of his services, to the Roman general, or, so far as regarded the war with Lacedæmon, even superior.

XXXI. WHILE the Achæans and the tyrant were carrying on the war, in this manner, the Roman ambassadors made a circuit through the cities of the allies; for they feared, lest the Ætolians might seduce
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some of them to join the party of Antiochus. They took but little pains, in their applications to the Achæans; because, knowing their animosity against Nabis, they thought that they might be safely relied on, with regard to other matters. They went, first, to Athens, thence to Chalcis, thence to Thessaly; and, after addressing proper exhortations to the Thessalians, in a full assembly, they directed their route to Demetrias, to which place a council of the Magnetians was summoned. Their negotiation here required more address; for a great many of the leading men were disaffected to the Romans, and entirely devoted to the interests of Antiochus, and the Ætolians; because, at the time when accounts were received, that Philip's son, who was an hostage, would be restored to him, and the tribute imposed on him remitted, among other groundless reports, it had been given out, that the Romans intended to put him again in possession of Demetrias. Rather than that should take place, Eurylochus, a deputy of the Magnetians, and others of that faction, wished for a total change of measures to be effected, by the coming of Antiochus and the Ætolians. In opposition to those, it was necessary to reason in such a manner, that, in dispelling their groundless fear, the ambassadors should not, by cutting off his hopes at once, give any disgust to Philip, whose friendship was of greater moment, on any occasion, than that of the Magnetians. They only observed to the assembly, that, "as Greece, in general, was under an obligation to the Romans, for their kindness in restoring its liberty, so was their state, in particular. For there had not only been a garrison of Macedonians in their capital, but a palace had been built in it, that they might have a master, continually present, before their eyes. But all that had been done would be of no effect, if the Ætolians should bring thither Antiochus, and settle him in the palace of Philip, and a new and
" unknown

“ unknown king should be set over them, in the place of an old one, with whom they were long acquainted.” Their chief magistrate is styled Magnetarch. This office was then held by Eurylochus, who, assuming confidence from his high station, openly declared, that he, and the Magnetians, saw no reason to dissemble their having heard the common report, about the restoration of Demétrias to Philip; to prevent which, the Magnetians were bound to use every effort, however hazardous; and, in the eagerness of discourse, he was carried to such an inconsiderate length, as to throw out, that “ at that very time, Demetrias was only free in appearance, and that, in reality, all things were directed by the will of the Romans.” These words excited a general murmur in the assembly, some of whom shewed their approbation, others expressed indignation at his presumption, in uttering such an expression. As to Quintius, he was so enflamed with anger, that, raising his hands towards heaven, he invoked the gods to witness the ungrateful and perfidious disposition of the Magnetians. This struck terror into the whole assembly; and one of the deputies, named Zeno, who had acquired a great degree of influence, by his judicious course of conduct in life, and by having been always an avowed supporter of the interest of the Romans, with tears, besought Quintius, and the other ambassadors, “ not to impute to the state the madness of an individual. Every man,” he said, “ was answerable for his own absurdities. As to the Magnetians, they were indebted to Titus Quintius, and the Roman people, not only for liberty, but for every thing that mankind hold valuable or sacred. By their kindness, they were in the enjoyment of every blessing, for which they could ever petition the immortal gods; and, if struck with phrenzy, they would sooner vent their fury on their own persons, than violate the friendship of Rome.”

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XXXII. His entreaties were seconded by the prayers of the whole assembly; on which, Eurylochus retired hastily from the council, and, passing through private streets to a gate, fled away into Ætolia. For the Ætolians now gave plain indications of their intention to revolt, which became more evident every day; and it happened, that, at this very time, Thoas, one of their leading men, whom they had sent to Antiochus, returned, and brought back with him an ambassador from the king, named Menippus. These two, before the council met to give them audience, filled every one's ears with pompous accounts of the naval and land forces that were coming, "a vast army," they said, "of horse and foot was on its march, accompanied by elephants from India; and besides, they were bringing such a quantity of gold and silver, as was sufficient to purchase the Romans themselves:" a circumstance which, they knew, would influence the multitude, more than any thing else. It was easy to foresee, what effects these reports would produce in the council; for the Roman ambassadors received information of the arrival of those men, and of all their proceedings; and although a rupture was almost unavoidable, yet Quintius thought it advisable, that some ambassadors of the allies should be present in that council, who might remind the Ætolians of their alliance with Rome, and might have the courage to speak with freedom in opposition to the king's ambassador. The Athenians seemed to be the best qualified for this purpose, by reason of the high reputation of their state, and also of an alliance long subsisting between them and the Ætolians. Quintius, therefore, requested of them to send ambassadors to the Panatolic council. When the council met, Thoas, first, made a report of the business of his embassy. After him, Menippus was introduced, who said, that "it would have been happy for all the Greeks, residing both in Greece and Asia, if Antiochus

" thus could have taken a part in their affairs, while
 " the power of Philip was yet unbroken; for then
 " every one would have had what, of right, belonged
 " to him, and the whole would not have come un-
 " der the dominion and absolute disposal of the Ro-
 " mans. But even as matters stand at present," said
 he, " provided you have constancy enough to carry
 " into effect the measures which you have adopted,
 " Antiochus will be able, with the help of the gods,
 " and the alliance of the Ætolians, to reinstate the
 " affairs of Greece in their former rank of dignity,
 " notwithstanding the low condition to which they
 " have been reduced. But this dignity consists in
 " a state of freedom supported by its own strength,
 " and not dependent on the will of another." The
 Athenians, who were permitted to deliver their sen-
 timents next after the king's ambassadors, avoiding
 all mention of Antiochus, reminded the Ætolians
 of their alliance with Rome, and the benefits con-
 ferred by Titus Quintius on the whole body of
 Greece; and recommended to them, " not, incon-
 " siderately, to break off that connexion by too
 " hasty counsels; observing, that passionate and ad-
 " venturous schemes, however flattering at first
 " view, prove difficult in the execution, and dis-
 " astrous in the issue: that, as the Roman ambassa-
 " dors, and, among them, Titus Quintius, were
 " within a small distance, it would be better, be-
 " fore any violent step was taken, to discuss, in
 " amicable conference, any matters in dispute, than
 " to rouse Europe and Asia to a dreadful war."

XXXIII. THE multitude, ever fond of novelty,
 warmly espoused the cause of Antiochus, and gave
 their opinion, that the Romans should not even be
 admitted into the council; but by the influence
 chiefly of the elder members, a vote was passed,
 that the council should give audience to the Ro-
 mans. On being acquainted, by the Athenians,
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with this determination, Quintius determined to go into Ætolia; for he thought that, "either he should be able to effect some change in their designs; or that it would be manifest to all mankind, that the blame of the war would lie on the Ætolians, and that the Romans would be warranted to take arms by justice, and, in a manner, by necessity." On arriving there, Quintius, in his discourse to the council, began with the first formation of the alliance between the Romans and the Ætolians, and enumerated the many transgressions of the terms of the treaty of which the latter had been guilty. He then enlarged a little on the rights of the states concerned in the dispute, and added, that, "notwithstanding, if they thought that they had any reasonable demand to make, it would surely be infinitely better to send ambassadors to Rome, whether they chose to argue the case, or to make a request to the senate, than that the Roman people should enter the lists with Antiochus while the Ætolians acted as marshals of the field; an event which would cause a great convulsion in the affairs of the world, and the utter ruin of Greece." He concluded with asserting, that "no people would feel the fatal consequences of such a war sooner than the first promoters of it." This prediction of the Roman was disregarded. Thoas, and others of the same faction, were then heard, with general approbation; and they prevailed so far, that, without adjourning the meeting, or waiting for the absence of the Romans, the assembly passed a decree, that Antiochus should be invited to vindicate the liberty of Greece, and decide the dispute between the Ætolians and the Romans. To the insolence of this decree, their prætor, Damocratus, added a personal affront: for, on Quintius asking him for a copy of the decree, without any respect to the dignity of the person to whom he spoke, he told him, that "he had, at present, more pressing business to dispatch;

" dispatch ; but he would, shortly, give him the BOOK
 " decree, and an answer, in Italy, from his camp XXXIV.
 " on the banks of the Tiber." Such a degree of Y. R. 562.
 madness possessed, at that time, both the nation of B. C. 192.
 the Ætolians, and their magistrates.

XXXIV. QUINTIUS, and the ambassadors, returned to Corinth. The Ætolians, that they might not appear to depend merely on Antiochus, and to sit inactive, waiting for his arrival, though they did not, after the departure of the Romans, hold a general diet of the nation, yet endeavoured, by their Apocleti, (a more confidential council, composed of persons selected from the rest,) to devise schemes for setting Greece in commotion. They were, every one of them, sensible, that in the several states the principal people, particularly those of the best characters, were disposed to maintain the Roman alliance, and well pleased with the present state of affairs ; but that the populace, and especially such as were in needy circumstances, wished for a general revolution. The Ætolians, at one day's sitting, formed a scheme, the very conception of which argued, not only boldness, but impudence, being no less than the making themselves masters of Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon. One of their principal men was sent to each of these places ; Thoas to Chalcis, Alexamenus to Lacedæmon, Diocles to Demetrias. This last was assisted by the exile Eurylochus, whose flight, and the cause of it, have been mentioned above, and who had no other prospect of being restored to his country. Eurylochus, by letter, instructed his friends and relations, and those of his own faction, to order his wife and children to assume a mourning dress, and, holding the badges of supplicants, to go into a full assembly, and to beseech each individual, and the whole body, not to suffer a man, who was innocent and uncondemned, to grow old in exile. The
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simple and unsuspecting were moved by compassion; the ill-disposed and seditious, by the hope of seeing all things thrown into confusion, in consequence of the tumults which the Ætolians would excite, and every one voted for his being recalled. These preparatory measures being effected, Diocles, at that time general of the horse, with all the cavalry, set out, under pretext of escorting to his home the exile, who was his guest. Having, during that day, and the following night, marched an extraordinary length of way, and arrived within six miles of the city, at the first dawn, he chose out three troops, at the head of which he went on, before the rest of the cavalry, whom he ordered to follow. When he came near the gate, he made all his men dismount, and lead their horses by the reins, without keeping their ranks, but like travellers on a journey, in order that they might appear to be the retinue of the general, rather than a military force. Here he left one troop at the gate, lest the cavalry, who were coming up, might be shut out; and then holding Eurylochus by the hand, conducted him to his house, through the middle of the city and the Forum, and through crowds who met and congratulated him. In a little time the city was filled with horsemen, and convenient posts were seized; and then parties were sent to the houses of persons of the opposite faction, to put them to death. In this manner Demetrias fell into the hands of the Ætolians.

XXXV. THE plan to be executed at Lacedæmon was not to attempt the city by force, but to entrap the tyrant by stratagem. For they supposed that, though he had been stripped of the maritime towns by the Romans, and, afterwards, shut up within the walls of Lacedæmon by the Achæans, whoever took the first opportunity of killing him, would engross the whole thanks of the Lacedæmonians,

nians for all the proceedings against him. The presence which they had for sending to him, was, that he had long solicited them to send him assistance, since, by their advice, he had renewed the war. A thousand foot were put under the command of Alexamenus, with thirty horsemen, chosen out of all the youth. These received a charge from Damocritus, the prætor, in the select council of the nation, mentioned above, "not to suppose that they were sent to act against the Achæans; or on any other business, which any of them could discover from his own conjectures. Whatever sudden enterprise circumstances might direct Alexamenus to undertake, that, however unexpected, rash, or daring, they were to hold themselves in readiness to execute with implicit obedience; and should understand that to be the business, for the sole purpose of effecting which, they had been sent abroad."

With these men thus preinstructed, Alexamenus came to the tyrant, and, at his first arrival, filled him with very flattering hopes; telling him, that Antiochus had already come over into Europe; that he would shortly be in Greece, and would cover the lands and seas with men and arms: that the Romans would find that they had not Philip to deal with: that the numbers of the horsemen, footmen, and ships, could not be reckoned; and that the train of elephants, by their mere appearance, would effectually overthrow the enemy: that the Ætolians were resolved to come to Lacedæmon, with their entire force, whenever occasion required; but that they wished to shew the king, on his arrival, a numerous body of troops: that Nabis himself, likewise, ought to take care not to suffer his soldiers to be enervated by inaction, and by spending their time in houses; but to lead them out, and make them perform their evolutions under arms, which, while it exercised their bodies, would also rouse their cour-

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“rage: that the labour would become lighter by
 “practice, and might even be rendered not un-
 “pleasing by the affability and kindness of their
 “commander.” Thenceforward, they used fre-

quently to be drawn out under the walls of the city, in a plain, near the river Eurotas. The tyrant's life-guards were generally posted in the centre. He himself, attended by three horsemen, at the most, of whom Alexamenus was commonly one, rode about in front, and went to view both wings to their extremities. On the right wing were the Ætolians; both those who had been before in the tyrant's army as auxiliaries, and the thousand who came with Alexamenus. Alexamenus made it his custom to ride about, with the tyrant, through a few of the ranks, making such remarks as he thought proper; then to ride away, to his own troops, in the right wing, and, presently after, as if having given the necessary orders, to return to the tyrant. But, on the day which he had fixed for the perpetration of the deed, after riding a short time with the tyrant, he withdrew to his own men, and addressed the horsemen, sent from home with him, in these words: “Young men, you
 “are now to perform, and that with boldness and
 “resolution, the business which you were ordered
 “to execute, with spirit, at my command. Have
 “your courage and your hands ready, that none
 “may fail to second me in whatever he sees me
 “attempt. If any one shall hesitate, and let any
 “scheme of his own interfere with mine, that man,
 “most certainly, shall never return to his home.” Horror seized them all, and they well remembered the charge which they had received at setting out. The tyrant was now coming from the left wing. Alexamenus ordered his horsemen to rest their lances, and keep their eyes fixed on him, and, in the mean time, he himself recollected his spirits from the hurry into which they had been thrown by the thoughts of such a desperate attempt. As soon

as

as the tyrant came near, he charged him, and driving his spear through his horse, broughr the rider to the ground. All the horsemen aimed their lances at him as he lay, and, after many ineffectual strokes against his coat of mail, their points at length penetrated his body, so that, before relief could be sent from the centre, he expired.

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XXXVI. ALEXAMENUS, with all the Ætolians, hastened away, to seize on the palace. Nabis's life-guards were, at first, struck with horror and dismay, on seeing the act perpetrated before their eyes; then, when they observed the Ætolian troops leaving the place, they gathered round the tyrant's body, where it was left, forming, instead of guards of his life, and avengers of his death, a mere groupe of spectators. Nor would any one have stirred, if Alexamenus had immediately disarmed, called the people to an assembly, there made a speech suitable to the occasion, and, afterwards, kept a good number of Ætolians in arms, without offering to commit any act of violence. Instead of which, by a fatality, which ought to attend all designs founded in treachery, every step was taken that could tend to hasten the destruction of the actors in this villanous enterprise. The commander, shut up in the palace, wasted a day and a night in searching out the tyrant's treasures; and the Ætolians, as if they had stormed the city, of which they wished to be thought the deliverers, betook themselves to plunder. The insolence of their behaviour, and, at the same time, contempt of their numbers, gave the Lac-dæmonians courage to assemble in a body, when some said, that they ought to drive out the Ætolians, and resume their liberty, which had been ravished from them at the very time when it seemed to be restored; others, that, for the sake of appearance, they ought to associate with them some one of the royal family, to give authority to their proceedings. There was a

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very young boy, of that family, named Laconicus, who had been educated with the tyrant's children; him they mounted on a horse, and, taking arms, slew all the Ætolians whom they met straggling through the city. They then assaulted the palace, where they killed Alexamenus, who, with a small party, attempted resistance. Others of the Ætolians, who had collected together round the Chalcæcon, that is, the brazen temple of Minerva, were cut to pieces. A few, throwing away their arms, fled, some to Tegea, others to Megalopolis, where they were seized by the magistrates, and sold as slaves. Philopæmen, as soon as he heard of the murder of the tyrant, went to Lacedæmon, where, finding all in confusion and consternation, he called together the principal inhabitants, to whom he addressed a discourse such as ought to have been made by Alexamenus, which had so great an effect, that the Lacedæmonians joined the confederacy of the Achæans. To this they were the more easily persuaded, because, at that very juncture, Aulus Atilius happened to arrive at Gythium with twenty-four quinqueremes.

XXXVII. MEANWHILE, Thoas, in his attempt on Chalcis, was not near so fortunate as Eurylochus had been in getting possession of Demetrias; although, by the intervention of Euthymidas, a man of considerable consequence, who, after the arrival of Titus Quintius, and the ambassadors, had been banished by those who adhered to the Roman alliance, and of Herodorus, who was a merchant of Cios, and who, by means of his wealth, possessed a powerful influence at Chalcis, he had engaged a party, composed of Euthymidas's faction, to betray the city into his hands. Euthymidas went from Athens, where he had fixed his residence, first, to Thebes, and thence to Salganea; Herodorus to Thronium. At a small distance, on the Malian bay,

bay, Thoas had two thousand foot and two hundred horse, with thirty light transport ships. With these vessels, carrying six hundred footmen, Herodorus was ordered to sail over to the island of Atalanta, that, as soon as he should perceive the land-forces approaching Aulis and the Euripus, he might pass over to Chalcis. Thoas himself led the rest of his forces, marching, mostly by night, with all possible expedition, toward Chalcis.

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XXXVIII. Mictio and Xenoclides, who were now, since the banishment of Euthymidas, at the head of affairs in that city, either, of themselves, suspected the matter, or received some information of it, and were, at first, so greatly terrified, that they saw no prospect of safety but in flight; but afterwards, when their fright subsided, and they considered that, by such a step, they would betray and desert not only their country, but the Roman alliance, they struck out the following plan. It happened that, at that very time, there was a solemn anniversary festival, celebrated at Eretria, in honour of Diana Amarynthis, which was always attended by great numbers, not only of the natives, but also of the Carystians: thither they sent envoys to beseech the Eretrians and Carystians, "as having been born
" in the same isle, to compassionate their situation;
" and, at the same time, to shew their regard to the
" friendship of Rome: not to suffer Chalcis to be-
" come the property of the Ætolians, who, if they
" once got that city into their power, would soon
" possess themselves of all Eubœa: and to remind
" them, that they had felt the Macedonians grievous
" masters, but that the Ætolians would be much
" more intolerable." Those states were influenced, chiefly, by motives respecting the Romans, as they had lately experienced both the bravery in war, and the justice and liberality in success, which characterised that people. Both states, therefore, armed, and

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sent the main strength of their young men. To these the people of Chalcis entrusted the defence of the walls, and they themselves, with their whole force, crossed the Eurypus, and encamped at Salganea. From that place, they sent, first, a herald, and, afterwards, ambassadors, to ask the Ætolians, for what word or act of theirs, their friends and allies came thus to attack them. Thoas, commander of the Ætolians, answered, that "he came not to attack them, but to deliver them from the Romans: that they were fettered, at present, with a brighter chain indeed, but a much heavier one, than when they had a Macedonian garrison in their citadel." The men of Chalcis replied, that "they were neither under bondage, nor in need of protection." The ambassadors then withdrew from the meeting, and returned to their countrymen. Thoas, and the Ætolians, who had no other hopes than in a sudden surprise, and were, by no means, in a capacity to undertake a regular war, and the siege of a city so well secured against any attack from the land or the sea, returned home. Euthymidas, on hearing that his countrymen were encamped at Salganea, and that the Ætolians had retired, went back from Thebes to Athens. Herodorus, after waiting several days at Atalanta, attentively watching for the concerted signal, in vain, sent an advice-boat to learn the cause of the delay; and, understanding that the enterprise was abandoned by his associates, returned to Thronium, whence he came.

XXXIX. QUINTIUS being informed of these proceedings, came, with the fleet, from Corinth, and met Eumenes in the Euripus of Chalcis. It was agreed between them, that king Eumenes should leave there five hundred of his soldiers, as a garrison to the city, and should go himself to Athens. Quintius proceeded to Demetrias, as he had purposed from the first, hoping that the relief
of

of Chalcis would prove a strong inducement to the Magnetians to renew the alliance with Rome. And, in order that such of them as favoured his views might have some support at hand, he wrote to Eunomus, prætor of the Thessalians, to arm the youth of his nation; and sent Villius forward to Demetrias, to sound the inclinations of the people: for he was determined not to take any step in the business, unless a considerable number of them were disposed to revive the former treaty of amity. Villius, in a ship of five banks of oars, came to the mouth of the harbour, and the whole multitude of the Magnetians hastened out thither. Villius then asked, whether they chose that he should consider himself as having come to friends, or to enemies? Eurylochus, the Magnetarch, answered, that "he had come to friends; but desired him not to enter the harbour, but to suffer the Magnetians to live in freedom and harmony, and not to attempt, under the shew of friendly converse, to seduce the minds of the populace." Then followed an altercation, not a conference, the Roman upbraiding the Magnetians with ingratitude, and forewarning them of the calamities impending over them; and the multitude, on the other side, clamorously reproaching him, and reviling, sometimes the senate, sometimes Quintius. Villius, therefore, unable to effect any part of his business, went back to Quintius, who dispatched orders to the Thessalian prætor, to lead his troops home, and he himself returned by sea to Corinth.

XL. I HAVE let the affairs of Greece, blended with those of Rome, carry me away, as it were, out of the course; not that they were in themselves deserving of a recital, but because they gave rise to a war with Antiochus. After the consular election, for thence I digressed, the consuls, Lucius Quintius and Cneius Domitius repaired to their provinces;

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Quintius to Liguria, Domitius against the Boians. These latter kept themselves quiet; nay, the senators, with their children, and the commanding officers of the cavalry, with their troops, amounting in all to one thousand five hundred, surrendered to the consul. The other consul laid waste the country of the Ligurians to a wide extent, and took some forts; in which expeditions he not only acquired booty of all sorts, together with many prisoners, but he also recovered several of his countrymen, and of the allies, who had been in the hands of the enemy. In this year a colony was settled at Vibo, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, and an order of the people; three thousand seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen, went out thither, conducted by the commissioners Quintus Nævius, Marcus Minucius, and Marcus Furius Crassipes. Fifteen acres of ground were assigned to each footman, double that quantity to a horseman. This land had been last in possession of the Bruttians, who had taken it from the Greeks. About this time two dreadful alarms happened at Rome, one of which continued long, but produced less mischief than the other. An earthquake lasted through thirty-eight days; during all which time there was a total cessation of business, so strong were people's anxiety and fears. On account of this event, a supplication was performed of three days' continuance. The other was not a mere fright, but attended with the loss of many lives. In consequence of a fire breaking out in the cattle market, the conflagration, among the houses near to the Tiber, continued through all that day and the following night, and all the shops, with wares of very great value, were reduced to ashes.

XLI. THE year was now almost at an end, and the rumours of an impending war with Antiochus, and, consequently, the anxiety of the senate, daily increased. They therefore set about adjusting the provinces

vinces of the magistrates elect, in order that they might all be the more attentive in their several departments. They decreed, that the provinces of the consuls should be Italy, and whatever other place the senate should vote; and every one knew that a war against Antiochus was now a settled point. That he, to whose lot the latter province fell, should have under his command, of Roman citizens, four thousand foot and three hundred horse; and, of the Latine confederates, six thousand foot and four hundred horse. The consul Lucius Quintus, was ordered to levy these troops, that the new consul might have no delay, to prevent his proceeding immediately to any place which the senate should appoint. Concerning the provinces of the prætors, also, it was decreed, that the first lot should comprehend the two jurisdictions, both that between natives, and that between them and foreigners; the second should be Bruttium; the third, the fleet, to sail wherever the senate should direct; the fourth, Sicily; the fifth, Sardinia; the sixth, farther Spain. An order was also given to the consul Lucius Quintus, to levy two new legions of Roman citizens, and of the allies and Latines twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse. This army they assigned to the prætor to whom should fall the province of Bruttium. Two temples were dedicated, this year, to Jupiter, in the Capitol; one of which had been vowed by Lucius Furius Purpureo, when prætor, during the Gallic war; the other by the same, when consul. Quintus Marcius Ralla, duumvir, dedicated both. Many severe sentences were passed this year on usurers, who were prosecuted by the curule ædiles, Marcus Tuccius, and Publius Junius Brutus. Out of the fines imposed on those who were convicted, gilded chariots, with four horses, were placed in the recess of Jupiter's temple, in the Capitol, over the canopy of the shrine, and also twelve gilded bucklers. The same ædiles built a
portico

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portico on the outside of the Triple Gate, in the
Carpenters Square.

XLII. WHILE the Romans were busily employed in preparing for a new war, Antiochus, on his part, was not idle. He was detained some time by three cities, Smyrna, Alexandria in Troas, and Lampascus, which hitherto he had not been able either to reduce by force, or to persuade into a treaty of amity; and he was unwilling, on going into Europe, to leave these enemies behind him. The difficulty of forming a fixed determination respecting Hannibal gave him some more delay. First, the open ships, which the king was to have sent with him to Africa, were not readily fitted out; and, afterwards, doubts were raised, whether he ought to be sent at all. This was owing chiefly to Theas, the Ætolian; who, after setting all Greece in commotion, came with the account of Demetrius being in the hands of his countrymen; and as he was full of false representations concerning the king, and multiplying, in his assertions, the numbers of his forces, he exalted the expectations of many in Greece; for now, by the same artifices, he puffed up the hopes of the king; telling him, that "every one, with earnest wishes, longed for his coming; and that, wherever they got a view of the royal fleet, they would all run down to the shore to welcome him." He even had the audacity to attempt altering the king's judgment respecting Hannibal, when it was almost positively settled. For he alieged, that "the royal fleet ought not to be weakened by sending away any number of the ships; and that, if ships must be sent, no person was less fit for the command of such a fleet than Hannibal: for he was an exile, and a Carthaginian; to whom his own circumstances, or his disposition, might daily suggest a thousand new schemes. Then, as to his military fame itself, which, like a large dowry, re-

"commended

" commended Hannibal to notice, it was too splendid
 " for an officer acting under the king. The king
 " ought to be the grand object of view; the king
 " ought to appear the sole leader, the sole com-
 " mander. If Hannibal should lose a fleet, or should
 " lose an army, the amount of the damage would be
 " the same as if the loss were incurred by any other
 " general; but should success be obtained, all the
 " honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, not to
 " Antiochus. Besides, if the war should prove so
 " fortunate, as to terminate, finally, in the defeat of
 " the Romans, could it be expected that Hannibal
 " would live under a king, and subject to an indi-
 " vidual; he who could not brook subjection to the
 " government of his own country? His conduct,
 " in early youth, had been of a very different
 " nature: he was a man that, in his hopes, and
 " in his views, grasped at nothing less than the domi-
 " nion of the world. It was, therefore, not likely
 " that, at his mature age, he should be able to en-
 " dure subjection. The king wanted not Hannibal
 " as a general: as an attendant and a counsellor, in
 " the business of the war, he might properly em-
 " ploy him. A moderate use of such abilities would
 " be neither unprofitable, nor dangerous: but, if
 " advantages of the highest nature were sought
 " through him, the probable consequences would
 " be, the destruction both of the agent and the em-
 " ployer."

XLIII. THERE are no dispositions more prone
 to envy than those of persons whose mental qualifica-
 tions are inferior to their birth and rank in life; such
 always harbour an antipathy to merit, as a treasure
 in which they cannot share. The design of the ex-
 pedition, to be commanded by Hannibal, the only
 one thought of that could be of use, in the beginning
 of the war, was immediately laid aside. The king,
 highly flattered by the defection of Demetrias, from
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the Romans to the Ætolians, resolved to go over into Greece without farther delay. Before the fleet weighed anchor he went up from the shore to Ilium, to offer sacrifice to Minerva. As soon as he returned thence to the fleet he set sail with forty decked ships and sixty open ones, followed by two hundred transports, laden with provisions and warlike stores. He, first, touched at the island of Imbrus; thence he passed over to Sciathus; whence, after collecting the ships which had been separated during the voyage, he proceeded to Pteleum, the nearest part of the continent. Here, Eurylochus the Magnetarch, and other principal Magnetians from Demetrias, met him. Being greatly gratified, by their numerous appearance, he carried his fleet, the next day, into the harbour of their city. At a small distance from the town he landed his forces, which consisted of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; a force scarcely sufficient to take possession of Greece if there were to be no opposition, much less to withstand the armies of Rome. The Ætolians, as soon as they were informed of Antiochus's arrival at Demetrias, convened a general council, and passed a decree inviting him into their country. The king had already left Demetrias, for he knew that such a decree was to be passed, and had advanced as far as Phalera, on the Malian bay. Here the decree was presented to him, and then he proceeded to Lamia, where he was received by the populace with marks of the warmest attachment, with clapping of hands and shouting, and other signs by which the vulgar express extravagant joy.

XLIV. WHEN he came to the place where the council sat, he was introduced by Phæneas, the prætor, and other persons of eminence, who, with difficulty, made way for him through the crowd. Then, silence being made, the king made a speech to the assembly. He began with accounting for his having come

come with a force, so much smaller than every one had hoped and expected. "That," he said, "ought to be deemed the strongest proof of the warmth of his good will towards them; because, though he was not sufficiently prepared, in any particular, and though the season was yet too early for sailing, he had, without hesitation, complied with the call of their ambassadors, and had believed, that, when the Ætolians should see him among them, they would be satisfied, that in him, even if he were unattended, they might be sure of every kind of support. But he would also abundantly fulfil the hopes of those, whose expectations seemed at present to be disappointed. For, as soon as the season of the year rendered navigation safe, he would cover all Greece with arms, men, and horses, and all its coasts with fleets. He would spare neither expence, nor labour, nor danger, until he should remove the Roman yoke from their necks, and render Greece really free, and the Ætolians the first among its states. That, together with the armies, stores of all kinds were to come from Asia. For the present, the Ætolians ought to take care that his men might be properly supplied with corn, and other accommodations, at reasonable rates."

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XLV. Such was the purport of the king's discourse, which was received with universal approbation, and he then withdrew. After his departure, a warm debate ensued, between two of the Ætolian chiefs, Phæneas, and Thoas. Phæneas declared his opinion, that it would be better to employ Antiochus, as a mediator of peace, and an umpire, respecting the matters in dispute with the Roman people, than as leader in a war. That "his presence, and his dignified station, would impress the Romans with awe, more powerfully than his arms. That, in many cases, men, for the sake of avoiding war,

" remit

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BOOK XXXV. "remit pretensions, which force and arms would never compel them to forego." Thus, on the other hand, insisted, that "Phaneas's motive was not a love of peace, but a wish to embarrass them in their preparations for war, with the view that, through the tediousness of the proceedings, the king's vigour might be relaxed, and the Romans gain time to put themselves in readiness. That they had abundant proof, from experience, after so many embassies sent to Rome, and so many conferences with Quintius in person, that nothing reasonable could ever be obtained from the Romans in the way of negotiation; and that they would not, until every hope of that sort was out of sight, have implored the aid of Antiochus. That, as he had appeared among them sooner than any had expected, they ought not to sink into indolence, but rather to petition the king, that, since he had come in person, which was the great point of all, to support the rights of Greece, he would also send for his fleets and armies. For the king, at the head of an army, might obtain something; but, without that, could have very little influence with the Romans, either in the cause of the Ætolians, or even in his own." This opinion was adopted, and the council voted, that the title of general should be conferred on the king. They also nominated thirty of their number, as a council, with whom he might deliberate on business, when he should think proper.—The council was then broken up, and all went home to their respective states.

XLVI. Next day, the king held a consultation, with their select council, respecting the most eligible place for beginning his operations. They judged it best to make the first trial on Chalcis, which had lately been attempted, in vain, by the Ætolians; and they thought that the business required rather expedition,

dition, than any great exertion or preparation. Accordingly the king, with a thousand foot, who had followed him from Demetrius, took his route through Phocis; and the Ætolian chiefs, going by another road, met, at Charonea, a small number of their young men, whom they had called to arms, and thence, in ten decked ships, proceeded after him. The king pitched his camp at Salganea; and he, himself, with the Ætolian chiefs, crossed the Eurypus, in the ships. When he had advanced a little way from the harbour, the magistrates, and other chief men of Chalcis, came out before their gate. A small number, from each side, met to confer together. The Ætolians warmly recommended to the others, "without violating the friendship subsisting between them and the Romans, to receive the king also, as a friend and ally. For his coming over into Europe was not for the purpose of making war, but of vindicating the liberty of Greece; and of vindicating it, in reality, not in words, and pretence merely, as the Romans had done. For nothing could be more advantageous to the states of Greece, than to possess the friendship of both those powers; as they would then be always secure against ill-treatment, from either, under the guaranty and protection of the other. If they refused to receive the king, they ought to consider the immediate difficulties, which they must encounter: the aid of the Romans being far distant, and Antiochus, whom, with their own strength they could not possibly resist, in character of an enemy at their gates." To this Mictio, one of the Chalcian deputies, answered, that "he wondered who those people were, for the vindicating of whose liberty Antiochus had left his own kingdom, and come over into Europe. For his part, he knew not any state in Greece which either was awed by a garrison, or paid tribute to the Romans, or was bound by a disadvantageous treaty, and
"obliged

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“ obliged to submit to terms which it did not like.
 “ The people of Chalcis, therefore, stood not in
 need, either of any assertor of their liberty, which
 they already enjoyed, or of any armed protector;
 “ since, through the kindness of the Roman people,
 “ they were in possession of both liberty and peace.
 “ They did not slight the friendship of the king,
 “ nor that of the Ætolians themselves. And the first
 “ instance of friendship that they could give, would
 “ be, to quit the island and go home; for, as to
 “ themselves, they were fully determined, not only,
 “ not to admit them within their walls, but not even
 “ to agree to any alliance, but with the approbation
 “ of the Romans.”

XLVII. WHEN an account of this conference was brought to the king, at the ships, where he had staid, he resolved, for the present, to return to Demetrias; for he had not with him a sufficient number of men, to attempt any thing by force. At Demetrias, he held another consultation with the Ætolians, to determine what was next to be done, as their first effort had proved fruitless. It was agreed, that they should make trial of the Boeotians, Achæans, and Amynder, king of Athamania. The Boeotian nation, they believed, to be disaffected to the Romans, ever since the death of Brachyllas, and the consequences which attended it. Philopæmen, chief of the Achæans, they supposed to hate, and be hated by, Quintius, in consequence of a rivalry for fame, in the war of Laconia. Amynder had married Apamia, daughter of an Megalopolitan, called Alexander, who, pretending to be descended from Alexander the Great, had given the names of Philip, and Alexander, to his two sons, and that of Apamia to his daughter; and when she was raised to distinction, by her marriage to the king, Philip, the elder of her brothers, followed her into Athamania. This man, who, as it happened, was naturally vain, the Ætolians and Antiochus

Antiochus persuaded to hope, that, as he was really of the royal family, he should be put in possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, on condition of his prevailing on Amynder and the Athamanians to join Antiochus; and these empty promises produced the intended effect, not only on Philip, but likewise on Amynder.

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XLVIII. In Achaia, the ambassadors of Antiochus, and the Ætolians, were admitted to an audience of the council at Ægium, in the presence of Titus Quintius. The ambassador of Antiochus was heard, prior to the Ætolians. He, with all that pomp and parade, which is common among those who are maintained in the courts of kings, covered, as far as the empty sound of words could go, both lands and seas with forces. He said, that "an innumerable body of cavalry was coming over the Hellespont, into Europe; some of them cased in coats of mail, whom they call Cataphracts, others discharging arrows on horseback; and, what rendered it impossible to guard against them, shooting with the surest aim, even when their backs were turned, and their horses in full gallop. To this army of cavalry, sufficient to crush the forces of all Europe, collected into one body," he added another of infantry of many times its number; and to terrify them, repeated the names of nations scarcely ever heard before: talking of Dahans, Medes, Elymæans, and Cadusians. Then, "as to the naval forces, which no harbours in Greece were capable of containing: the right squadron was composed of Sidonians and Tyrians; the left of Aradians and Sidetians, from Pamphylia, nations which none others had ever equalled, either in courage, or skill in sea affairs. Then, as to money, and other requisites for the support of war, it was needless for him to speak. They themselves knew, that the kingdoms of Asia had always

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“ abounded in gold. The Romans, therefore, had not now to deal with Philip, or with Hannibal; the one a principal member of a commonwealth, the other confined merely to the limits of the kingdom of Macedonia: but with the great march of all Asia, and part of Europe. Nevertheless, though he had come to the remotest bounds of the East to give freedom to Greece, he did not demand any thing from the Achæans, that could injure the fidelity of their engagements with the Romans, their former friends and allies. For he did not require them to take arms on his side, against them; but only, that they should not join themselves to either party. That, as became common friends, they should wish for peace to both parties, and not intermeddle in the war.” Archidamus, ambassador of the Ætolians, made nearly the same request: that, as was their easiest and safest way, they should stand neuter; and, as mere spectators of the war, wait for the issue, which would affect only the interests of others, while their own affairs were exposed to no manner of hazard. He afterwards allowed himself to be transported into such intemperance of language, as to utter invectives, sometimes against the Romans, in general, sometimes against Quintius, himself, in particular; charging them with ingratitude, and upbraiding them, as being indebted to the valour of the Ætolians, not only for the victory over Philip, but even for their preservation; for, “ by their exertions, both Quintius himself and his army had been saved. What duty of a commander had he ever discharged? He used to see him, indeed, in the field, taking auspices; sacrificing, and offering vows, like an insignificant soothsaying priest; while he, himself, was, in his defence, exposing his person to the weapons of the enemy.”

XLIX. To this Quintius replied, that "Archidamus had calculated his discourse for the auditors, rather than for the persons to whom it was addressed. For the Achæans very well knew, that the bold spirit of the Ætolians consisted entirely in words, not in deeds; and was more displayed in their councils and assemblies, than in the field. He had, therefore, been indifferent concerning the sentiments of the Achæans, to whom he, and his countrymen, were conscious, that they were thoroughly known; and studied to recommend himself to the king's ambassadors, and, through them, to their absent master. But, if any person had been, hitherto, ignorant of the cause which had effected a junction between Antiochus and the Ætolians, it was easy to discover it from the language of their ambassadors. By the false representations, made by both parties, and boasts of strength, which neither possessed, they mutually puffed up each other; and were themselves, puffed up with vain expectations; one party talking of Philip being vanquished by them, the Romans being protected by their valour, and the rest of what you have just heard; and that you, and the other states and nations, would follow their lead. The king, on the other side, boasting of clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covering the seas over with his fleets. Their representations," he added, "are exceedingly like a supper that I remember, at the house of my host, at Chalcis, who is both a man of worth, and an excellent conductor of a feast. He gave a cheerful entertainment to a party of us, at midsummer; and, on our wondering how he could, at that time of the year, procure such plenty and variety of wild game, he, not being so vain-glorious as these men, told us, with a pleasant smile, that the variety was owing to the dressing, and that what appeared to be the flesh of many different wild animals, was all

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“ composed of the flesh of tame swine. This may
 “ be aptly applied to the forces of the king, so
 “ ostentatiously displayed a while ago; that those
 “ men, in various kinds of armour, and nations,
 “ whose names were never heard before, Dahans,
 “ and Medes, and Cadusians, and Elymæans, are
 “ nothing more than Syrians, a race possessed of
 “ such groveling souls, as to be much fitter for
 “ slaves than for soldiers. I wish, Achæans, that I
 “ could exhibit to your view the rapid excursions of
 “ this mighty monarch, from Demetrias, first, to
 “ Lamia, to the council of the Ætolians; then, to
 “ Chalcis. I would shew you, in the royal camp,
 “ about the number of two small legions, and these
 “ incomplete. You should see the king, now, in a
 “ manner, begging corn from the Ætolians, to be
 “ measured out to his soldiers; then, striving to
 “ borrow money, at interest, to pay them; again,
 “ standing at the gates of Chalcis; and presently, on
 “ being refused admittance, returning thence into
 “ Ætolia, without having effected any thing, ex-
 “ cept, indeed, the taking a peep at Aulis and the
 “ Euripus. Both have been duped: Antiochus by
 “ the Ætolians, and the Ætolians by the king’s vain
 “ and empty boastings. For which reason, you
 “ ought to be the more on your guard against their
 “ deceptions, and rather to confide in the tried and
 “ approved fidelity of the Romans. For, with re-
 “ spect to a neutrality, which they recommend as
 “ your wisest plan, nothing, in fact, can be more
 “ contrary to your interest: for the inevitable con-
 “ sequence must be, that, without gaining thanks or
 “ esteem from either, you will become a prey to
 “ the conqueror.”

L. His arguments, in opposition to both, were
 deemed conclusive; and there was no difficulty in
 bringing an audience, prepossessed in his favour, to
 give their approbation to his discourse. In fact,
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there was no debate, or doubt, started; but all concurred in voting, that the nation of the Achæans would treat, as their friends or foes, those who were judged to be such by the Roman people, and in ordering war to be declared, against both Antiochus and the Ætolians. They also, by the direction of Quintius, sent immediate succours of five hundred men to Chalcis, and five hundred to the Piræus: for affairs, at Athens, were in a state, not far from a civil war, in consequence of the endeavours, used by some, to seduce the venal populace, by hopes of largesses, to take part with Antiochus. But, at length, Quintius was sent for by those who were of the Roman party, and Apollodorus, the principal adviser of a revolt, being publicly charged therewith by one Leon, was condemned, and driven into exile. Thus, from the Achæans also, the king's embassy returned with a discouraging answer. The Bœotians made no explicit declaration; they only said, that "when Antiochus should come into Bœotia, they would then deliberate on the measures proper to be pursued." When Antiochus heard, that both the Achæans, and king Eumenes, had sent reinforcements to Chalcis, he resolved to act with the utmost expedition, that his troops might get the start of them, and, if possible, intercept the others as they came; and he sent thither Menippus, with about three thousand soldiers, and Polyxenidas with the whole fleet. In a few days after, he marched, himself, at the head of six thousand of his own soldiers, and a smaller number of Ætolians, as many as could be collected, in haste, out of those who were at Larnia. The five hundred Achæans, and a small party sent by king Eumenes, being guided by Xenocides, of Chalcis, the roads being yet open, crossed the Euripus, and arrived at Chalcis, in safety. The Roman soldiers, who were likewise about five hundred, came, after Menippus had fixed his camp under Salganea, at Hermæus, the place of passage from

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Boeotia to the island of Eubœa. They had with them Mictio, who had been sent express from Chalcis to Quintius, to solicit the reinforcement; and, when he perceived that the passes were blocked up by the enemy, he quitted the road to Aulis, and turned away to Delium, with intent to pass over thence to Eubœa.

LI. DELIUM is a temple of Apollo, standing over the sea, five miles distant from Tanagra, and the passage thence, to the nearest part of Eubœa, is less than four miles. As they were in this sacred building and grove, sanctified with all that religious awe, and those privileges, which belong to temples, called by the Greeks *atylums*, war not being yet either proclaimed, or so far commenced, as that they had heard of swords being drawn, or blood shed, any where, the soldiers, in perfect tranquillity, amused themselves, some with viewing the temple and groves, others with walking about, unarmed, on the strand, and a great part had gone different ways in quest of wood and forage; when, on a sudden, Mennippus attacked them, in that scattered condition, slew many, and took fifty of them prisoners. Very few made their escape, among whom was Mictio, who was received on board a small trading vessel. Though this event caused much grief to Quintius, and the Romans, on account of the loss of their men, yet it tended greatly to the justification of their cause, in making war on Antiochus. Antiochus, when arrived with his army, so near as Aulis, sent again to Chalcis a deputation, composed, partly, of his own people, and partly, of Ætolians, to treat on the same grounds as before, but with heavier denunciations of vengeance: and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Mictio, and Xenoclides, to the contrary, he carried his point, and the gates were opened to him. Those who adhered to the Roman interest, on the approach of the king, withdrew from the city.

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The soldiers of the Achæans, and Eumenes, held Salganea; and the few Romans, who had escaped, raised, for the security of the place, a little fort on the Euripus. Menippus laid siege to Salganea, and the king himself to the fort on the Euripus. The Achæans and Eumenes's soldiers, first surrendered on the terms of being allowed to retire in safety. The Romans defended their fort on the Euripus with more obstinacy. But even these, when they found themselves completely invested, both by land and sea, and saw the machines and engines prepared for an assault, could hold out no longer. The king, having thus got possession of the capital of Eubœa, the other cities of the island did not even attempt resistance; and he seemed, to himself, to have signalized the commencement of the war, by an important acquisition, in having brought under his power so great an island, and so many cities so conveniently situated.

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Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul, aided by king Philip, defeats Antiochus, at Thermopyla, and drives him out of Greece; reduces the Ætolians to sue for peace. Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica reduces the Boian Gauls to submission. Sea-fight between the Roman fleet and that of Antiochus, in which the Romans are victorious.

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PUBLIUS Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, and Manlius Acilius Glabrio, consuls, on their assuming the administration, were ordered by the senate, before they settled any thing respecting their provinces, to perform sacrifice, with victims of the greater kinds, at all the shrines, where the Lectisternium was usually celebrated, for the greater part of the year; and to offer prayers, that the business which the senate had in contemplation, concerning a new war, might terminate prosperously, and happily, for the senate and people of Rome. At every one of those sacrifices, appearances were favourable, and the propitious omens were found in the first victims. Accordingly, the haruspices gave this answer: That, by this war, the boundaries of the Roman empire would be enlarged; and that victory and triumph were portended. When this answer was reported, the senate, having their minds now freed from every religious

religious scruple, ordered this question to be proposed to the people: "Was it their will, and did they order, that war should be undertaken against king Antiochus, and all who should join his party?" And, that if that order passed, then the consuls were, if they thought proper, to lay the business entire before the senate. Publius Cornelius got the order passed; and then the senate decreed, that the consuls should cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Greece; that he, to whose lot Greece fell, should, in addition to the number of soldiers, enlisted and raised from the allies by Quintius, for that province, pursuant to a decree of the senate, take under his command that army, which, in the preceding year, Marcus Bæbius, prætor, had, by order of the senate, carried over to Macedonia. Permission was also granted him, to receive succours from the allies, out of Italy, if circumstances should so require, provided their number did not exceed five thousand. It was resolved, that Lucius Quintius, consul of the former year, should be commissioned as lieutenant-general in that war. The other consul, to whom Italy fell, was ordered to carry on the war with the Boians, with whichever he should choose of the two armies commanded by the consuls of the last year; and to send the other to Rome; and these were ordered to be the city-legions, and ready to march to whatever place the senate should direct.

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II. THINGS being thus adjusted in the senate, excepting the assignment of his particular province to each of the magistrates, the consuls were ordered to cast lots. Greece fell to Acilius, Italy to Cornelius. The lot of each being now determined, the senate passed a decree, that, "inasmuch as the Roman people had ordered war to be declared against king Antiochus, and those who were under his government, the consuls should command a supplication to be performed, on account of that business,

"since,

“sineſs; and that Manius Acilius, conſul, ſhould
 “vow the great games to Jupiter, and offerings at
 “all the ſhrines.” This vow was made by the con-
 ſul, in theſe words, which were dictated by Publius
 Licinius, chief pontiff: “If the war, which the
 “people has ordered to be undertaken againſt king
 “Antiochus, ſhall be concluded agreeably to the
 “wiſhes of the ſenate and people of Rome, then, O
 “Jupiter, the Roman people will, through ten ſuc-
 “ceſſive days, exhibit the great games in honour of
 “thee, and offerings ſhall be preſented at all the
 “ſhrines, of ſuch value as the ſenate ſhall direct.
 “Whatever magiſtrate ſhall celebrate thoſe games,
 “and at whatever time and place, let the celebration
 “be deemed proper, and the offerings rightly and
 “duly made.” The two conſuls then proclaimed
 a ſupplication for two days. When the conſuls had
 determined their provinces, by lots, the prætors;
 likewiſe, immediately caſt lots for theirs. The two
 civil juriſdictions fell to Marcus Junius Brutus;
 Bruttium, to Aulus Cornelius Mammula; Sicily, to
 Marcus Æmilius Lepidus; Sardinia, to Lucius Op-
 pius Salinator: the fleet, to Caius Livius Salinator;
 and farther Spain, to Lucius Æmilius Paullus. The
 troops for theſe were ſettled thus: to Aulus Corne-
 lius, were assigned the new ſoldiers, raiſed laſt year
 by Lucius Quintius, conſul, purſuant to the ſenate’s
 decree; and he was ordered to defend the whole
 coaſt, near Tarentum and Brundifium. Lucius
 Æmilius Paullus was ordered to take with him, into
 farther Spain, to fill up the numbers of the army,
 which he was to receive from Marcus Fulvius, pro-
 prætor, three thouſand new-raiſed foot, and three
 hundred horſe, of whom two-thirds ſhould be Latine
 allies, and the other third Roman citizens. An
 equal reinforcement was ſent to hither Spain to
 Caius Flaminius, who was continued in command.
 Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was ordered to receive
 both the province, and army, from Lucius Valerius,
 whom

whom he was to succeed; and, if he thought proper, to retain Lucius Valerius, as proprætor, in the province, and to divide the province with him, in such a manner, that one division should reach from Agrigentum to Pachynum, and the other from Pachynum to Tyndarium, the sea-coasts whereof, Lucius Valerius was to protect, with a fleet of twenty ships of war. The same prætor received a charge, to levy two tenths of corn, and to take care that it should be carried to the shore, and thence conveyed into Greece. Lucius Oppius was, likewise, commanded to levy a second tenth in Sardinia; but with directions, that it should be conveyed not into Greece, but to Rome. Caius Livius, the prætor, whose lot was the command of the fleet, was ordered to sail directly to Greece, with thirty ships, which were ready, and to receive the other fleet from Atilius. The prætor, Marcus Junius, was commissioned to refit and arm the old ships, which were in the dock-yards; and, for the manning of these, to enlist the sons of freemen as seamen.

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III. AMBASSADORS were sent into Africa, three to Carthage, and a like number to Numidia, to procure corn, to be carried into Greece; for which the Roman people were to pay the value. ~~And~~ so particularly attentive was the state, to the making of every preparation and provision, necessary for the carrying on of this war, that the consul, Publius Cornelius, published an edict, that “no senator, nor
 “any who had the privilege of giving an opinion in
 “the senate, nor any of the inferior magistrates,
 “should go so far from the city of Rome, as that
 “they could not return the same day; and that not
 “more than five of the senators should be absent,
 “at the same time.” The diligent exertions of the prætor, Caius Livius, in fitting out the fleet, were, for some time, retarded, by a dispute which arose
 with

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with the maritime colonies. For, when he insisted on their manning the fleet, they appealed to the tribunes of the people, by whom the cause was referred to the senate. The senate, without one dissenting voice, resolved, that those colonies were not entitled to exemption from the sea-service. The colonies, which disputed this point with the prætor, were, Ostia, Fregenæ, Castrumnovum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina, Minturnæ, and Sinuessæ. The consul, Manius Acilius, then, by direction of the senate, consulted the college of heralds, "whether a declaration of war should be made to Antiochus, in person; or whether it would be sufficient to declare it at some of his garrison towns; whether they directed a separate declaration, against the Ætolians, and whether their alliance and friendship ought not to be renounced, before war was declared." The heralds answered, that "they had given their judgment before, when they were consulted respecting Philip, that it was of no consequence whether the declaration were made to himself, in person, or at one of his garrisons. That, in their opinion, friendship had been already renounced; because, after their ambassadors had so often demanded restitution, the others had not thought proper to make either restitution or apology. That the Ætolians, by their own act, had made a declaration of war against themselves, when they seized, by force, Lemetrias, a city in alliance with Rome; when they laid siege to Chalcis, by land and sea; and brought over king Antiochus, into Europe, to make war on the Romans." Every preparatory measure being now completed, the consul, Manius Acilius, issued an edict, that "the soldiers enlisted, or raised, from among the allies, by Titus Quintius, and who were under orders to go with him to his province; as, likewise, the military tribunes of the first and
" third

"third legions, should assemble at Brundisium, on the ides of May*." He himself, on the fifth before the nones of May†, set out from the city in his military robe of command. The prætors, likewise, about the same time, set out for their respective provinces.

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IV. A LITTLE before this time, ambassadors came to Rome, from the two kings, Philip of Macedonia, and Ptolemy of Egypt, offering aid of men, money, and corn, towards the support of the war. From Ptolemy was brought, also, a thousand pounds weight of gold, and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. None of this was accepted. Thanks were returned to the kings. Both of them having offered to come, with their whole force, into Ætolia, and take share in the war, Ptolemy was excused from that trouble, and Philip's ambassadors were answered, that the senate and people of Rome would consider it as a kindness if he lent his assistance to the consul, Manius Acilius. Ambassadors came, likewise, from the Carthaginians, and from king Masinissa. The Carthaginians made an offer of sending a thousand pecks‡ of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, to the army, and half that quantity to Rome; which they requested the Romans to accept from them as a present. They also offered to fit out a fleet, at their own expence, and to pay in, immediately, the whole amount of the several annual payments of tribute, which they were bound to make for many years to come. The ambassadors of Masinissa promised, that their king should send five hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley, to the army in Greece, and

* 15th May.

† 3d May.

‡ Here is, doubtless, some word dropped in the original: so small a quantity could never have been deemed an object for one powerful state to offer to another. Commentators suppose it to have been one hundred thousand.

BOOK three hundred thousand of wheat, and two hundred
 XXXVI. and fifty thousand of barley, to Rome; also five
 Y. R. 561. hundred horse, and twenty elephants, to the consul
 P. C. 291. Acilius. The answer given to both, with regard
 to the corn, was, that the Roman people would make
 use of it, provided they accepted payment for it.
 With regard to the fleet offered by the Carthagi-
 nians, no more was accepted than such ships as they
 owed by treaty; and, as to the money, they were
 told, that none would be received before the regular
 days of payment.

V. WHILE affairs at Rome proceeded in this manner, Antiochus, not to be idle, during the winter season, at Chalcis, endeavoured to bring over several of the states by ambassadors sent among them; and several, of their own accord, sent ambassadors to him, as the Epirots, by the general voice of the nation, and the Eleans from Peloponnesus. The Eleans requested aid against the Achæans; for they supposed, that, since the war had been declared against Antiochus contrary to their judgment, the Achæans would, first, turn their arms against them. One thousand foot were sent to them, under the command of Euphanes, a Cretan. The embassy of the Epirots shewed no mark whatever of a liberal or candid disposition. They wished to ingratiate themselves with the king; but, at the same time, to avoid giving cause of displeasure to the Romans. They requested him “not, hastily, to make them a
 “party in the dispute, exposed, as they were, op-
 “posite to Italy, in the front of Greece, where
 “they must necessarily undergo the first assaults of
 “the Romans. If he himself, with his land and
 “sea forces, could take charge of Epirus, the in-
 “habitants would joyfully receive him in all their
 “ports and cities. But, if circumstances allowed
 “him not to do that, then, they earnestly entreated
 “him not to expose them, naked and defenceless,
 “to

"to the arms of the Romans." Their intention in sending him this message evidently was, that if he declined going into Epirus, which they rather supposed would be the case, they stood clear of all blame with regard to the Romans, while they sufficiently recommended themselves to the king by their willingness to receive him on his coming; and that, on the other hand, if he should come, even in that case they were not without hopes of being pardoned by the Romans, for having yielded to the strength of a prince who was in the heart of their country, without waiting for succour from them, who were so far distant. To this evasive embassy, as he did not readily think of a proper answer, he replied, that he would send ambassadors to them, to confer upon such matters as were of common concernment both to him and them.

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VI. HE went, himself, into Bœotia, where the ostensible causes held out, for the public resentment to the Romans, were those already mentioned: the death of Brachyllas, and the attack, made by Quintus, on Coronea, on account of the massacre of the Roman soldiers; while the real ones were, that the former excellent policy of that nation, with respect both to public and private concerns, had, for several generations, been on the decline; and that great numbers were in such circumstances that they could not long subsist without some change in affairs. Through multitudes of the principal Bœotians, who every where flocked out to meet him, he arrived at Thebes. There, notwithstanding that he had, both at Delium, by the attack made on the Roman troops, and also at Chalcis, already commenced hostilities, by enterprises of neither a trifling, nor of a dubious nature, yet, in a general council of the nation, he delivered a speech of the same import with that which he delivered in the first conference at Chalcis, and that used by his ambassadors in the council

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council of the Achæans; that "what he required of them was, to form a league of friendship with him, not to declare war against the Romans." But not a man among them was ignorant of his meaning. However, a decree, disguised under a slight covering of words, was passed in his favour against the Romans. After securing this nation also on his side, he returned to Chalcis; and, having dispatched letters, summoned the chief Ætolians to meet him at Demetrias, that he might deliberate with them on the general plan of operations, he went thither by sea, against the day appointed for the meeting. Amynder, also, was summoned from Athamania to the consultation, and Hannibal, who, for a long time before, had not been asked to attend, was present at this assembly. The subject of their deliberation was, the mode of conduct proper to be pursued towards the Thesalian nation; and every one present was of opinion, that it was necessary to obtain their concurrence. The only points on which opinions differed were, that some thought the attempt ought to be made immediately; while others judged it better to defer it, from the winter season, which was then about half spent, to the beginning of spring; and some advised, only to send ambassadors; others, that the king should go at the head of all his forces, and, if they hesitated, terrify them into compliance.

VII. ALTHOUGH the present debate turned chiefly on these points, Hannibal, being called on by name to give his opinion, led the king, and those who were present, into the consideration of the general conduct of the war, by a speech to this effect:—"If I had been employed in your councils since we came first into Greece, when you were consulting about Eubœa, about the Achæans, and about Bœotia, I would have offered the same advice which I shall offer you this day, when your thoughts are employed

" employed about the Thessalians. My opinion is, BOOK
 " that, above all things, Philip and the Macedoni- XXXVI.
 " ans should, by some means or other, be engaged Y. R. 561.
 " to act as confederates in this war. For, as to B. C. 191.
 " Eubœa, as well as the Boeotians and Thessalians;
 " is it not perfectly clear, that, having no strength
 " of their own, they will ever court the power that
 " is present; and will make use of the same fear,
 " which governs their counsels, as an argument for
 " obtaining pardon? That, as soon as they shall see
 " a Roman army in Greece they will change sides,
 " and attach themselves to that government, to
 " which they have been accustomed? Nor are they
 " to blame, if, when the Romans were at so great a
 " distance, they did not choose to try your force,
 " and that of your army, who were on the spot.
 " How much more advisable, therefore, and more
 " advantageous would it be, to unite Philip to us,
 " than these; as, if he once embarks in the cause,
 " he will have no room for retreat, and as he will
 " bring with him such a force, as will not only be
 " an accession to a power at war with Rome, but
 " was able, lately, of itself, to withstand the Ro-
 " mans? With such an ally united to us, (I wish to
 " speak without offence,) how could I harbour a
 " doubt about the issue? When I should see the
 " very persons who enabled the Romans to over-
 " come Philip, now ready to act against them?
 " The Ætolians, who, as all agree, conquered Phi-
 " lip, will fight in conjunction with Philip against
 " the Romans. Amynder and the Athamanian
 " nation, who, next to the Ætolians, performed the
 " greatest services in that war, will stand on our side.
 " Philip, at the time when you remained inactive,
 " sustained the whole burden of the war. Now,
 " you and he, two of the greatest kings, will, with
 " the force of Asia and Europe, wage war against
 " one state; which, to say nothing of my own con-
 " tests with them, either prosperous or adverse, was
 " certainly,

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“ certainly, in the memory of our fathers, unequal
 “ to a contest with a single king of Epirus; and
 “ what then would it be in competition with you
 “ two? But it may be asked, What circumstances
 “ induce me to believe that Philip may be brought
 “ to an union with us? First, common utility;
 “ which is the strongest cement of union: and,
 “ next, my reliance, *Ætolians*, on your veracity.
 “ For *Thoas*, your ambassador, among the other ar-
 “ guments which he used to urge, for the purpose of
 “ drawing *Antiochus* into Greece, always laid par-
 “ ticular stress on this assertion: that Philip ex-
 “ pressed extreme indignation at being reduced to
 “ the condition of a slave, under the appearance of
 “ conditions of peace: and he used to compare the
 “ king’s anger to that of a wild-beast chained, or
 “ shut up, and wishing to break the bars that con-
 “ fined it. Now, if his temper of mind is such, let
 “ us loose his chains, and break these bars, that he
 “ may vent, upon the common foe, this anger so
 “ long confined. But should our embassy fail of
 “ producing any effect on him, let us then take
 “ care, that if we cannot unite him to ourselves, he
 “ may not be united to our enemies. Your son,
 “ *Seleucus*, is at *Lyfimachia*; and if, with the army
 “ which he has there, he shall pass through *Thrace*,
 “ and once begin to make depredations on the nearest
 “ parts of *Macedonia*, he will effectually divert Philip
 “ from carrying aid to the Romans, and will oblige
 “ him to endeavour, in the first place, to protect his
 “ own dominions. Thus much respecting Philip.
 “ With regard to the general plan of the war, you
 “ have, from the beginning, been acquainted with
 “ my sentiments; and if my advice had been listened
 “ to, the Romans would not now hear that *Chalcis*
 “ in *Eubœa* was taken, and a fort on the *Euripus* re-
 “ duced, but that *Etruria*, and the whole coast of *Li-*
 “ *guria* and *Cisalpine Gaul* were in a blaze of war;
 “ and, what would strike more terror into them
 “ than

" than all, that Hannibal was in Italy. Even as
 " matters stand at present, I recommend it to you,
 " to call home all your land and sea forces; let
 " storeships, with provisions, follow the fleet: for,
 " as we are here too few for the exigencies of the
 " war, so are we too many for the scanty supplies
 " of necessaries. When you shall have collected
 " together the whole of your force, you will divide
 " the fleet, and keep one division stationed at Cor-
 " cyra, that the Romans may not have a clear and
 " safe passage, and the other you will send to the
 " coast of Italy, opposite Sardinia and Africa;
 " while you yourself, with all the land forces, will
 " proceed to the territory of Byllium. In this po-
 " sition you will hold the command of all Greece;
 " you will give the Romans reason to think that
 " you intend to sail over to Italy; and you will be
 " in readiness so to do, if occasion require. This
 " is my advice: and though I may not be the most
 " skilful, in every kind of warfare, yet surely I must
 " be allowed to have learned, in a long series of
 " both good and bad fortune, how to wage war
 " against the Romans. For the execution of the
 " measures which I have advised, I offer you my
 " most faithful and zealous endeavours. Whatever
 " plan you shall prefer, may the gods grant it their
 " approbation."

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VIII. SUCH, nearly, was the counsel given by
 Hannibal, which the hearers commended indeed at
 the time, but never carried into effect. For not
 one article of it was executed, except the sending
 Polyxenidas to bring over the fleet and army from
 Asia. Ambassadors were sent to Larissa, to the diet
 of the Thessalians. The Ætolians and Amynder
 appointed a day for the assembling of their troops at
 Pheræ, and the king, with his forces, came thither
 immediately. While he waited there for Amynder
 and the Ætolians, he sent Philip, the Megalopoli-

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tan, with two thousand men, to collect the bones of the Macedonians round Cynoscephalæ, where had been fought the battle which decided the war with king Philip; being advised to this either by Philip, in order to gain favour with the Macedonians, and draw their displeasure on the king for having left his soldiers unburied; or having, of himself, through the spirit of vain-glory incident to kings, conceived such a design, splendid in appearance, but really insignificant. There is a mount there formed of the bones which had been scattered about, and were then collected into one heap. Although this step procured him no thanks from the Macedonians, yet it excited the heaviest displeasure of Philip; in consequence of which, he, who had hitherto intended to regulate his counsels by the fortune of events, now sent instantly a messenger to the proprætor, Marcus Bæbius, to inform him, that "Antiochus had made an irruption into Thessaly; and to request him, if he thought proper, to move out of his winter-quarters; which if he did, he himself would advance to meet him, that they might consider together what was proper to be done.

IX. WHILE Antiochus lay encamped near Pheræ, where the Ætolians and Amynder had joined him, ambassadors came to him from Larissa, desiring to know on account of what acts or words of theirs, he had made war on the Thessalians; at the same time requesting him to withdraw his army; and, if he had conceived any reason of disagreement, to discuss it amicably, by ambassadors. In the mean time, they sent five hundred soldiers, under the command of Hippolochus, to reinforce Pheræ; but these, being debarred of access by the king's troops, who blocked up all the roads, retired to Scorussa. The king answered the Larissan ambassadors, in mild terms, that "he came into their country not with a design of making war, but of protecting and establishing
" the

"the liberty of the Thessalians." He sent a person to make a similar declaration to the people of Pheræ, who, without giving him any answer, sent to the king an ambassador of their own, Pausanias, the first magistrate of their state. He offered remonstrances of a similar kind with those which had been urged in behalf of the people of Chalcis, at the first conference, on the streight of the Euripus, as the cases were similar, and he even proceeded to a greater degree of boldness; on which the king desired them to consider seriously, before they adopted a resolution, which, while they were over-cautious and provident of futurity, would give them immediate cause of repentance; and then dismissed them. When the Pheræans were acquainted with the result of this embassy, without the smallest hesitation, they determined to endure whatever the fortune of war might bring on them, rather than violate their engagements with the Romans. They, accordingly, exerted their utmost efforts to provide for the defence of the city, while the king, on his part, resolved to assail the walls on every side, at once; and considering, what was evidently the case, that it depended on the fate of this city, the first which he had besieged, whether he should for the future be despised, or dreaded, by the whole nation of the Thessalians, he put in practice, every where, all possible means of striking terror into the besieged. The first fury of the assault they supported with great firmness; but, in some time, great numbers of their men being either slain or wounded, their resolution began to fail. However, they were soon so far reanimated by the rebukes of their leaders, as to resolve on persevering in their undertaking; and having abandoned the exterior circle of the wall, for the defence of which their numbers were now insufficient, they withdrew to the interior part of the city, round which had been raised a fortification of less extent. At last, being overcome by distresses of

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every kind, and fearing, that, if they were taken by storm, they might meet no mercy from the conqueror, they capitulated. The king then lost no time; but, while the alarm was fresh, sent four thousand men against Scotussa, which surrendered without delay, the garrison taking warning from the recent example of those in Pheræ; who, notwithstanding their obstinate refusal, at first, were, at length, compelled by sufferings to submit. Together with the town, Hippolechus, and the Larissan garrison, were surrendered to him, all of whom he dismissed unhurt; hoping that such behaviour would operate powerfully towards conciliating the esteem of the Larissians.

X. HAVING accomplished all this within the space of ten days after his arrival at Pheræ, he marched, with his whole force, to Cranon, which submitted on his first approach. He then took Cypæra and Metropolis, and the forts in their neighbourhood; and now every town, in all that tract, was in his power, except Atrax and Gyrton. He next resolved to lay siege to Larissa, for he hoped that, either through the terror inspired by the storming of the other towns, or in consideration of his kindness in dismissing their troops of the garrison, or being led by the example of so many cities surrendering themselves, they would now lay aside their obstinacy. Having ordered the elephants to advance in front of the battalions, for the purpose of striking terror, he approached the city with his army in order of battle; which had such an effect on a great number of the Larissians, that they became irresolute and perplexed, between their fears of the enemy at their gates, and their respect for their distant allies. Meanwhile, Amynder, with the Athamanian troops, seized on Pellinæus and Menippus with three thousand Ætolian foot and two hundred horse, marched into Perrhæbia, where he took Mallæa and Cyrtia

retia by assault, and ravaged the lands of Tripolis. After executing these enterprises, with quick dispatch, they marched back to Larissa, where they joined the king, just when he was holding a council on the method of proceeding with regard to Larissa. On this occasion there were opposite opinions: for some thought, that force should be applied; that there was no time to be lost, but that the walls should be immediately attacked, with works and machines, on all sides at once; especially as the city stood in a plain, and the entrances were open, and the approaches every where level. While others represented, at one time, the strength of the city greater beyond comparison than that of Pheræ; at another, the approach of the winter season, unfit for any operation of war, much more so for besieging and assaulting cities. While the king's judgment hung in suspense between hope and fear, his courage was raised by ambassadors happening to arrive, just at the time, from Pharsalus, to make a surrender of that city. In the mean time Marcus Bæbius had a meeting with Philip in Dassaretia, and, in conformity to their joint opinion, sent Appius Claudius to reinforce Larissa, who, making long marches through Macedonia, arrived at that summit of the mountains which overhang Gonni. The town of Gonni is twenty miles distant from Larissa, standing at the opening of the valley called Tempe. Here, by enlarging the extent of his camp beyond what his numbers required, and kindling more fires than were necessary, he imposed on the enemy the opinion which he wished, that the whole Roman army was there, and king Philip along with them. Antiochus, therefore, pretending the near approach of winter as his motive, staid but one day longer, then withdrew from Larissa, and returned to Demetrias. The Ætolians and Athamanians retired to their respective countries. Appius, although he saw that, by the siege being raised, the purpose of his com-

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mission was fulfilled, yet resolved to go down to Larissa, to strengthen the resolution of the allies against future contingencies; and the Larissians enjoyed a twofold happiness, from the departure of the enemy out of their country, and from seeing a Roman garrison in their city.

XI. THE king went from Demetrias to Chalcis; where, being captivated with the love of a young woman of that city, daughter of Cleoptolemus, at first by messages, and afterwards by personal importunities, he continually teased her father, who was unwilling to enter into a connexion which might probably involve him in difficulties, until at length he gained his consent; and then he celebrated his nuptials in the same manner as if it were a time of profound peace. Forgetting the two important undertakings, in which he was engaged, the war with Rome, and the liberating of Greece, he banished every thought of business from his mind, and spent the remainder of winter in feasting and carousals; and when fatigued, rather than cloyed, with these, in sleep. The same spirit of dissipation seized all his officers, who commanded in the several winter-quarters, particularly those stationed in Bœotia, and even the soldiers abandoned themselves to the same indulgencies; not one of whom ever put on his armour, or kept watch, or guard, or did any part of the duty or business of a soldier. This was carried to such a length, that when, in the beginning of spring, he came through Phocis to Chæronea, where he had appointed the general assembly of all the troops, he perceived, at once, that the discipline of the soldiers, during the winter, had not been more rigid than that of their commander. He ordered Alexander, an Acarnanian, and Menippus, a Macedonian, to lead the army thence to Stratum, in Ætolia; and he himself, after offering sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi, proceeded to Naupactum. After holding
a coun-

a council of the chiefs of Ætolia, he went, by the road which leads by Chalcis and Lysimachia, to Stratum, to meet his army, which was coming along the Malian bay. Mnesilochus, a man of distinction among the Acarnanians, being bribed by many presents, not only laboured, himself, to dispose that nation in favour of the king, but had brought to a concurrence in the design, their prætor, Clytus, who was at the time invested with the highest authority. This latter, finding that the people of Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, could not be easily prevailed on to violate their former engagements, because they were afraid of the Roman fleets, one under Atilius, and another at Cephallenia, practised an artifice against them. He observed, in the council, that the inland parts of Acarnania ought to be guarded from danger, and that all, who were able to bear arms, ought to march out to Medio and Thurium, to prevent those places from being seized by Antiochus, or the Ætolians; on which some said, that there was no occasion to call out all the people in that hasty manner, for a body of five hundred men would be sufficient for the purpose. Having got this number of soldiers at his disposal, he placed three hundred in garrison at Medio, and two hundred at Thurium, with the design that they should fall into the hands of the king, and serve hereafter as hostages.

XII. AT this time, ambassadors from the king came to Medio, whose proposals being heard, the assembly began to consider what answer to give; when some advised to adhere to the alliance with Rome, and others, not to reject the friendship of the king; but Clitus offered an opinion, which seemed to take a middle course between the other two, and which was therefore adopted. It was, that ambassadors would be sent to the king, to request of him to allow the people of Medio to deliberate

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berate on a subject of such great importance, in a general assembly of the Acarnanians. Care was taken that this embassy should be composed of Mnecilochus, and some others of his faction; who, sending a private message to the king, to bring up his army, wasted time on purpose; so that they had scarcely set out, when Antiochus appeared in the territory, and, presently, at the gates of the city; and, while those, who were not concerned in the plot, were all in hurry and confusion, and hastily called the young men to arms, he was conducted into the city by Clitus and Mnecilochus. One party of the citizens now joined him through inclination, and those who were of different sentiments were compelled by fear to attend him. He then calmed their apprehensions by a discourse full of mildness; and his clemency being reported abroad, several of the states of Acarnania, in hopes of meeting the same treatment, went over to his side. From Medio he went to Thurium, whither he had sent on before him the same Mnecilochus, and his colleagues in the embassy. But the detection of the treachery practised at Medio, rendered the Thurians more cautious, not more timid. They answered him explicitly, that they would form no new alliance without the approbation of the Romans; they then shut their gates, and posted soldiers on the walls. Most seasonably, for confirming the resolution of the Acarnanians, Cneius Octavius, being sent by Quintius, and having received a party of men and a few ships from Aulus Postumius, whom Atilius had appointed his lieutenant, to command at Cephallenia, arrived at Leucas, and filled the allies with the strongest hopes; assuring them, that the consul Manius Acilius had already crossed the sea with his legions, and that the Roman forces were encamped in Thessaly. As the season of the year, which was by this time favourable for sailing, strengthened the credibility of this report, the king, after placing a garrison in Medio,

Medio, and some other towns of Acarnania, retired from Thurium, and taking his route through the cities of Ætolia and Phocis, returned to Chalcis.

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XIII. MARCUS BÆBIUS and king Philip, after the meeting which they had in the winter in Dassaretia, when they sent Appius Claudius into Thessaly to raise the siege of Larissa, had returned to winter-quarters, the season not being sufficiently advanced for entering on action; but now, in the beginning of spring, they united their forces, and marched down into Thessaly. Antiochus was then in Acarnania. As soon as they entered that country, Philip laid siege to Mallæa, in the territory of Perrhæbia, and Bæbius, to Phacium. This town he took almost at the first attempt, and then reduced Phæstus with as little delay. After this, he retired to Atrax; and having seized on Cyretæ and Phricium, and placed garri-sons in the towns which he had reduced, he again joined Philip, who was carrying on the siege of Mallæa. On the arrival of the Roman army, the garri-son, either awed by its strength, or hoping for pardon, surrendered themselves, and the combined forces marched, in one body, to recover the towns which had been seized by the Athamanians. These were Æginium, Ericinum, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca, Melibæa, and Phaloria. They then invested Pellinæum, where Philip of Megalopolis was in garri-son, with five hundred foot and forty horse; and before they made an assault, they sent a person to warn Philip, not to expose himself to the last extremities; to which he answered, with much confidence, that he could entrust himself either to the Romans or the Thessalians, but never would put himself in the power of Philip. The confederate commanders now saw that they must have recourse to force, and thought that Limnæa might be attacked at the same time; it was therefore agreed, that

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that the king should go against Limnæa, while Bæbius staid to carry on the siege of Pellinæum.

XIV. It happened that, just at this time, the consul, Manius Acilius, having crossed the sea, with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants, ordered some military tribunes, chosen for the purpose, to lead the infantry to Larissæ, and he himself, with the cavalry, came to Limnæa, to Philip. Immediately on the consul's arrival, the town capitulated, and the king's garrison, together with the Athamanians, were delivered up. From Limnæa the consul went to Pellinæum. Here the Athamanians surrendered first, and afterwards Philip of Megalopolis. King Philip, happening to meet the latter as he was coming out from the town, ordered his attendants, in derision, to salute him with the title of King; and he himself, coming up to him, with a sneer, highly unbecoming his own exalted station, accosted him by the name of Brother. He was brought before the consul, who ordered him to be kept in confinement, and, soon after, sent him to Rome in chains. All the rest of the Athamanians, together with the soldiers of king Antiochus, who had been in garrison in the towns which surrendered about that time, were delivered over to Philip. They amounted to three thousand men. The consul went thence to Larissæ, in order to hold there a consultation on the general plan of operations; and, on his way, was met by ambassadors from Pieria and Metropolis, with the surrender of those cities. Philip treated the prisoners, particularly the Athamanians, with great kindness, in expectation of gaining, through them, the favour of their countrymen; and having hence conceived hopes of getting Athamania into his possession, he, first, sent forward the prisoners to their respective states, and then marched his army thither. The repre-

representations given by the prisoners, of the king's clemency and generosity towards them, operated strongly on the minds of the people; and Amynander, who, by his presence, had retained many in obedience, through the respect paid to his dignity, began now to dread that he might be delivered up to Philip, who had been long his professed enemy, and to the Romans, who were justly incensed against him for his late defection; and, therefore, with his wife and children, he quitted the kingdom, and retired to Ambracia. Thus all Athamania came under the authority and dominion of Philip. The consul delayed a few days at Larissa, for the purpose, chiefly, of refreshing the horses, which, by the voyage, first, and marching afterwards, had been much harassed and fatigued; and when he had renewed the vigour of his army, by a moderate share of rest, he marched to Cranon. On his way, Pharsalus, Scotussa, and Pheræ, were surrendered to him, together with the garrisons placed in them by Antiochus. He asked these men, whether any of them chose to remain with him; and one thousand having declared themselves willing, he gave them to Philip. The rest he sent back, unarmed, to Demetrias. After this he took Proerna, and the forts adjacent; and then marched forwards toward the Malian bay. When he drew near to the pass on which Thaumaci is situated, all the young men of that place took arms, and, quitting the town, placed themselves in ambush in the woods adjoining the roads, and thence, with the advantage of higher ground, made attacks on the Roman troops as they marched. The consul, first, sent people to talk with them, and warn them to desist from such a mad proceeding; but, finding that they persisted in their undertaking, he sent round a tribune, with two companies of soldiers, to cut off the retreat of the men in arms, and took possession of the defenceless city. On this, the parties in ambush, hearing, from behind,

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hind, the shouts occasioned by the taking of the city, fled homeward, from all parts of the woods, but were intercepted and cut to pieces. From Thaumaci, the consul came, on the second day, to the river Sperchius, and, sending out parties, laid waste the country of the Hypataeans.

XV. DURING these transactions, Antiochus was at Chalcis; and now, perceiving that he had gained nothing from Greece to recompense his trouble, except pleasing winter-quarters at Chalcis, and a disgraceful marriage, he warmly blamed Thoas, and the fallacious promises of the Ætolians, while he admired Hannibal, as a man endowed, not only, with a wise foresight, but with a kind of prophetic skill, which had enabled him to foretel all that had come to pass. However, that he might not contribute to the failure of his inconsiderate enterprise, by his own inactivity, he sent requisitions to the Ætolians, to arm all their young men, and assemble in a body. He went, himself, immediately into their country, at the head of about ten thousand foot, the number having been filled up out of the troops which had come after him from Asia, and five hundred horse. Their assembly, on this occasion, was far less numerous than ever before, none attending, but the chiefs, with a few of their vassals. These affirmed, that they had, with the utmost diligence, tried every method, to bring into the field as great a number as possible out of their respective states, but had not been able, either by argument, persuasion, or authority, to overcome people's aversion to the service. Being disappointed thus, on all sides, both by his own people, who delayed in Asia, and by his allies, who did not fulfil those engagements by which they had prevailed on him to comply with their invitation, the king retired beyond the pass of Thermopylae. A range of mountains here divides Greece, in the same manner as Italy is divided by the ridge

of the Apennines. Outside the streight of Thermopylæ, towards the north, lie Epirus, Perrhæbia, Magnesia, Thessaly, the Achaean Phthiothis, and the Malian bay; on the inside, towards the south, the greater part of Ætolia, Acarnania, Phocis, Locris, Boeotia, and the adjacent island of Eubœa, the territory of Attica, which stretches out like a promontory into the sea, and, behind that, the Peloponnesus. This range of mountains, which extends from Leucas and the sea on the west, through Ætolia, to the opposite sea on the east, is so closely covered with thickets and craggy rocks, that, not to speak of an army, even persons lightly equipped for travelling, can with difficulty find paths, through which they can pass. The hills, at the eastern extremity, are called Ceta, and the highest of them Callidromos, in a valley, at the foot of which, reaching to the Malian bay, is a passage not broader than sixty paces. This is the only military road, through which an army can be led, even supposing no opposition. The place is, therefore, called Pylæ, the gate; and by some, on account of a warm spring, rising just at the entrance of it, Thermopylæ; and it is rendered famous, by the glorious stand made there by a party of Lacedæmonians, against the Persians, and by their still more glorious death.

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XVI. WITH a very inferior portion of spirit, Antiochus now pitched his camp, within the inclosures of this pass, the difficulties of which he increased by raising fortifications; and when he had completely strengthened every part, with a double rampart and trench, and, wherever it seemed requisite, with a wall formed of the stones which lay scattered about in abundance, being very confident, that the Roman army would never attempt to force a passage there, he sent away one-half of the four thousand Ætolians, the number that had joined him, to garrison Heraclea, which stood opposite the entrance of

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of the defile, and the other half to Hypata; for he concluded, that the consul would undoubtedly attack Heraclea, and he received accounts from many hands, of depredations committed on the country round Hypata. The consul, after ravaging the lands of Hypata, first, and then, those of Heraclea, in both which places the *Ætolian* detachments proved useless, pitched his camp opposite to the king's, in the very entrance of the pass, near the warm springs; and both the parties of the *Ætolians* shut themselves up in Heraclea. Antiochus, who, before he saw the enemy, thought every spot perfectly well fortified, and secured by guards, now began to apprehend, that the Romans might discover some paths through the hills above, through which they could make their way; for he had heard that the *Lacedæmonians*, formerly, had been surrounded in that manner by the Persians, and Philip, lately, by the Romans themselves. He therefore dispatched a messenger to the *Ætolians*, at Heraclea, desiring them to afford him so much assistance, at least, in the war, as to seize and secure the tops of the hills, so as to put it out of the power of the Romans to pass them. The delivery of this message raised a dissension among the *Ætolians*: some insisted that they ought to obey the king's orders, and go where he desired; others, that they ought to lie still at Heraclea, and wait the issue, be it what it might; for if the king should be defeated by the consul, their forces would be fresh, and in readiness to carry succour to their own states, in the neighbourhood; and if he were victorious, they could pursue the Romans, while scattered in their flight. Each party, not only, adhered positively to its own plan, but even carried it into execution; two thousand lay still at Heraclea, and two thousand, divided into three parties, took possession of the summits called *Callidromus*, *Rhoduntia*, and *Tichiuns*.

XVII. WHEN the consul saw that the heights were possessed by the Ætolians, he sent against those posts two men of consular rank, who acted as lieutenant-generals, with two thousand chosen men, Lucius Valerius Flaccus against Rhoduntia and Tichiuns, and Marcus Porcius Cato against Callidromus. Then, before he led on his forces against the enemy, he called the troops to an assembly, and gave them a short exhortation to this effect: "Soldiers, I see that
 " the greater part of you, who are present, of all
 " ranks, are men who served in this same province,
 " under the conduct and auspices of Titus Quintius.
 " I therefore wish to remind you, that, in the Ma-
 " cedonian war, the pass at the river Aous was
 " much more difficult than this before us. For this
 " is only a gate, a single passage, formed, as it were,
 " by nature; every other in the whole tract, be-
 " tween the two seas, being utterly impracticable.
 " In the former case, there were stronger fortifi-
 " cations, and more advantageously situated. The
 " enemy's army was both more numerous, and
 " composed of very superior men: for they were
 " Macedonians, Thracians, and Illyrians, nations
 " remarkable for the ferocity of their courage; your
 " present opponents are Syrians, and Asiatic Greeks,
 " the most unsteady of men, and born slaves. The
 " commander, there, was a king of extraordinary
 " warlike abilities, improved by practice from his
 " early youth, in wars against his neighbours, the
 " Thracians and Illyrians, and all the adjoining na-
 " tions. The king, with whom we have, now, to
 " deal, is one, who, to say nothing of his former
 " life, after coming over from Asia into Europe to
 " make war on the Roman people, has, during the
 " whole length of the winter, accomplished no more
 " memorable exploit, than the taking a wife, to gra-
 " tify his amorous inclinations, out of a private house,
 " and a family obscure even among its neighbours;
 " and now, this newly-married man, after indulg-
 " ing

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ing in the luxury of nuptial feasts, comes out to
 fight. His chief reliance was on the strength of
 the Ætolians; a nation, of all others, the most
 faithless and ungrateful, as you have formerly ex-
 perienced, and Antiochus now experiences. For
 they neither joined him, in the great numbers that
 were promised, nor could they be kept in the
 field, and, besides, they are, now, in a state of
 dissension among themselves. Although they de-
 manded to be intrusted with the defence of Hy-
 pata and Heraclea, yet they defended neither, but
 one-half of them fled to the tops of the moun-
 tains, while the others shut themselves up in He-
 raclea. The king, himself, plainly confessing, that,
 so far from daring to meet us in battle on the
 level plain, he durst not even encamp in open
 ground, has abandoned all the plain in front,
 which he boasted of having taken from us and
 Philip, and has hid himself behind the rocks; not
 even appearing in the opening of the pass, as it is
 said the Lacedæmonians did before, when draw-
 ing back his army, with the same thought. Does not
 this demonstrate just the same degree of fear, as if
 he had shut himself up within the walls of a city
 to stand a siege? But neither shall the heights
 protect Antiochus, nor the hills, which they have
 seized, the Ætolians. Sufficient care, and pre-
 caution, has been used on every quarter, that you
 shall have nothing to contend with, in the fight,
 but the enemies themselves. On your parts, you
 have to consider, that you are not fighting, mere-
 ly, for the liberty of Greece, although, were that
 all, it would be an achievement highly meritori-
 ous, to deliver that country; now, from Antiochus
 and the Ætolians, which you formerly delivered
 from Philip, and that the wealth now, in the
 king's camp, will not be the whole prize of your
 labour; but that the great collection of stores,
 daily expected from Ephesus, will likewise be-
 come

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" come your prey ; and also, that you will open a
 " way for the Roman power into Asia, and Syria,
 " and all the most opulent realms to the extremity
 " of the East. What then must be the consequence,
 " but that, from Gades to the Red Sea*, we shall
 " have no limit, but the ocean, which encircles the
 " whole orb of the earth ; and that all mankind
 " shall regard the Roman name, with a degree of
 " veneration next to that which they pay to the
 " gods ? For the attainment of prizes of such mag-
 " nitude, be ready to exert a spirit, adequate to the
 " occasion, that, to-morrow, with the aid of the
 " gods, we may decide the matter in the field."

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XVIII. AFTER this discourse he dismissed the sol-
 diers, who, before they went to their victuals, got
 ready their arms and weapons. At the first dawn,
 the signal being displayed, the consul formed
 his army in a narrow front, adapted to the
 nature of the ground. When the Macedonians
 were in motion, he, in the place of the
 vanguard, led a part of his light-infantry ; and,
 as a support, close to the fortifications,
 he placed the main strength of his Macedonians, whom they
 called *haristigastoi*, spearmen. On the left wing of
 these, at the foot of the mountain, he posted a body
 of javelin-bearers, archers, and slingers ; that, from
 the higher ground, they might annoy the naked flank
 of the enemy ; and, on the right of the Macedonians,
 to the extremity of the works, where the deep mor-
 asses and quicksands stretching thence to the sea,
 render the place impassable, the elephants with their
 usual guard ; in the rear of them, the cavalry ; and
 then, with a moderate interval between, the rest of

* The ancients supposed the earth to have a flat circular surface,
 round the extremity of which flowed a body of water, called, by them,
 the Ocean. The eastern quarter of the ocean they called the Red Sea,
 from the ruddy colour of the rising sun.

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his forces as a second line. The Macedonians, posted before the rampart, for some time, easily withstood the efforts, which the Romans made, every where, to force a passage; for they received great assistance from those, who poured down, from the higher ground, a shower of leaden balls, from their slings, and of arrows, and javelins, all together. But afterwards, the enemy pressing on, with greater and now irresistible force, they were obliged to give ground, and, filing off from the rear, retire within the fortification. Here, by extending their spears before them, from the rampart, they formed, as it were, a second rampart, for the rampart itself was of such a moderate height, that, while its defenders enjoyed the advantage of the higher ground, they, at the same time, by the length of their spears, had the enemy within reach underneath. Many of the assailants, inconsiderately approaching the rampart, were run through the body; and they must, either, have abandoned the attempt and retreated, or have lost very great numbers, had not Marcus Porcius come from the summit of Callidromus, whence he had dislodged the Ætolians, after killing the greater part of them; for he had surprised them quite unprepared, and mostly asleep, and now, he appeared on the hill which overlooked the camp. Flaccus had not met the same good fortune at Tichiuns and Rhoduntia; having failed in his attempts to approach those fastnesses.

XIX. THE Macedonians, and others, in the king's camp, as long as, on account of the distance, they could distinguish nothing more than a crowd, and a body of men in motion, thought they were the Ætolians, who, on seeing the fight at a distance, were coming to their aid. But when, on a nearer view, they knew the standards and arms, and thence discovered their mistake, they were all instantly seized with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and

and fled. The pursuit was somewhat retarded by the fortifications, and by the narrowness of the valley, through which the troops had to pass; and, above all, by the elephants being on the rear of the flying enemy, for it was with difficulty that the infantry could pass them, which the cavalry could by no means do, their horses being so frightened, that they threw one another into greater confusion, than would be occasioned by a battle. The plundering of the camp, also, caused a considerable delay. But, notwithstanding all this, the Romans pursued the enemy, that day, as far as Scarphia, killing and taking on the way great numbers, both of men and horses, and also killing such of the elephants as they could not secure; and then they returned to their camp. This had been attacked, during the time of the action, by the Ætolians, quartered at Heraclea; but the enterprize, which certainly shewed no want of boldness, was not attended with any success. The consul, at the third watch of the following night, sent forward his cavalry in pursuit of the enemy, and, as soon as day appeared, set out at the head of the legions. The king had got far before him, for he fled with the utmost speed, and never halted until he came to Elatia. There he, first, endeavoured to collect the scattered remains of his army, that had survived the battle and the pursuit; and then, with a very small body of half-armed men, he continued his retreat to Chalcis. The Roman cavalry did not overtake the king himself, at Elatia; but they cut off a great part of his soldiers, who either halted through weariness, or wandered out of the way, through mistake, as they fled, without guides, through unknown roads: so that, out of the whole army, not one escaped, except five hundred, who kept close about the king; and, even of the ten thousand men, whom, on the authority of Polybius, we have mentioned as brought over by the king from Asia, a very trifling number. But what shall we say to the

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BOOK account given by Valerius Antias, that there were in
XXXVI. the king's army sixty thousand men; of whom forty
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 the Romans, were slain, in the action itself, an hundred and fifty; and, of the party that defended the camp against the assault of the Ætolians, not more than fifty.

XX. As the consul marched his army through Phocis and Bœotia, the revolted states, conscious of their demerits, and dreading lest they should be exposed, as enemies, to the ravages of the soldiers, presented themselves at the gates of their cities, with the badges of suppliants; but the army proceeded, during the whole time, just as if they were in the country of friends, without offering violence of any sort, until they reached the territory of Coronea. Here a statue of king Antiochus, standing in the temple of Minerva Itonia, kindled such violent resentment, that permission was given to the soldiers to plunder the lands that lay round the temple. But the reflection quickly occurred, that, as the statue had been erected by a general vote of all the Bœotian states, it was unreasonable to resent it, on the single district of Coronea. The soldiers were therefore immediately recalled, and the depredations stopped. The Bœotians were only reprimanded, in words, for their ungrateful behaviour to the Romans, in return for so great obligations, so recently conferred. At the very time, when the battle was fought, ten ships, belonging to the king, with their commander Isidorus, lay at anchor near Thronium, in the Malian bay. To them Alexander of Acarnania, being grievously wounded, made his escape, and gave an account of the unfortunate issue of the battle; on which the fleet, alarmed at the immediate danger, sailed away in haste to Cenzus in Eubœa. There Alexander died, and was buried.

Three

Three other ships, which came from Asia to the same port, on hearing the disaster which had befallen the army, returned to Ephesus. Ifidorus sailed over from Cænæus to Demetrias, supposing that the king might perhaps have directed his flight thither. About this time, Aulus Atilius, commander of the Roman fleet, intercepted a large convoy of provisions; going to the king, just as they had passed the strait at the island of Andros; some of the ships he sunk, and took many others. Those who were in the rear of the fleet tacked about, and steered back to Asia. Atilius, with the captured ships, in his train, sailed back to Piræus, his former station, and distributed a vast quantity of corn among the Athenians, and the other allies in that quarter.

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XXI. ANTIOCHUS, quitting Chalcis before the consul arrived there, sailed first to Tenus, and thence passed over to Ephesus. When the consul came to Chalcis, the gates were open to receive him; for Aristoteles, who commanded for the king, on hearing of his approach, had withdrawn from the city. The rest of the cities of Eubœa also submitted, without opposition; and peace being restored all over the island, within the space of a few days, without inflicting punishment on any of the cities, the army which had acquired much higher praise, for moderation after victory, than even for the attainment of the victory, marched back to Thermopylæ. From this place, the consul dispatched Marcus Cato to Rome, that the senate and people might learn what had passed from unquestionable authority. He set sail from Creusa, a sea-port belonging to the Thespians, seated at the bottom of the Corinthian gulf, and steered to Petræ, in Achaia. From Petræ, he coasted along the shores of Ætolia, and Acarnania, as far as Corcyra, and thence he passed over to Hydruntum, in Italy. Proceeding hence, with rapid expedi-

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tion, by land, he arrived on the fifth day at Rome. Having come into the city before day, he went on, directly, from the gate, to Marcus Junius, the prætor, who, at the first dawn, assembled the senate. Here, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had been dispatched by the consul several days before Cato, and, on his arrival, had heard that the latter had outstripped him, and was then in the senate, came in, just as he was giving a recital of the transactions. The two lieutenant-generals were then, by order of the senate, conducted to the assembly of the people, where they gave the same account, as in the senate, of the services performed in Ætolia. Hereupon a decree was passed, that a supplication, of three days' continuance should be performed; and that the prætor should offer sacrifice to such of the gods as his judgment should direct, with forty victims of the larger kinds. About the same time, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who, two years before, had gone into farther Spain, in the office of prætor, went through the city in ovation. He carried in the procession an hundred and thirty thousand silver denariuses*, and, besides the coin, twelve thousand pounds weight of silver, and an hundred and twenty-seven pounds weight of gold.

XXII. THE consul, Acilius, sent on, from Thermopylæ, a message to the Ætolians in Heraclea, warning them, " then at least, after the experience " which they had of the emptiness of the king's " professions, to return to a proper way of thinking; and, by surrendering Heraclea, to endeavour " to procure, from the senate, a pardon for their " past madness, or error, if they rather chose so to " call it;" and he observed, that " other Grecian " states also had, during the present war, revolted " from the Romans; to whom they were under the " highest obligations; but that, inasmuch as, after

* 4097 l. 16 s. 4 d.

“ the flight of the king, whose presence had in-
 “ spired that confidence which led them astray from
 “ their duty, they had not added obstinacy to their
 “ other crimes, they were readmitted into friend-
 “ ship. In like manner, although the Ætoli-
 “ had not followed the king's lead, but had invited
 “ him, and had been principals in the war, not
 “ auxiliaries; nevertheless, if they could prevail on
 “ themselves to shew a proper sense of their mis-
 “ conduct, they might still ensure their safety.”

Their answer shewed nothing like a pacific disposition; wherefore, seeing that the business must be determined by force of arms, and that, notwithstanding the defeat of the king, the war of Ætolia was as far from a conclusion as ever, he led up his army from Thermopylæ to Heraclea; and, on the same day, rode on horseback entirely round the walls, in order to discover the situation of the city. Heraclea is situated at the foot of mount Oeta; the town itself is in the plain, but has a citadel overlooking it, which stands on an eminence of considerable height, terminated, on all sides, by precipices. Having examined every part which he wished to see, the consul determined to assault the city in four places at once. On the side next the river Asophus, where is also the Gymnasium, he gave the direction of the works and the attack to Lucius Valerius. He assigned to Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the attack of a part of the suburbs, which was as thickly inhabited as the city itself. He appointed Marcus Bæbius to act on the side opposite the Malian bay, where the access was far from easy; and Appius Claudius, on the side next to another rivulet, called Melas, the black, opposite to the temple of Diana. These exerted themselves with such vigorous emulation, that, within a few days, the towers, rams, and other machines, used in the besieging of towns, were all completed. For the lands round Heraclea, naturally marshy, and abounding with tall trees, furnished

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nished timber in abundance for every kind of work; and then, as the Ætolians had fled into the city, the deserted suburbs supplied not only beams and boards, but also bricks and mortar, and stones of every size for all their various occasions.

XXIII. On one side the Romans carried on their approaches by means of works, more than of personal exertions; on the other, the Ætolians maintained their defence by dint of arms: For when the walls were shaken by the ram, they did not, as is usual, intercept and turn aside the strokes by the help of nooses formed on ropes, but sallied out in large armed bodies, with parties carrying fire, in order to burn the works. They had likewise arched passages through the walls, for the purpose of making sallies; and when they now built up the wall anew, in the room of any part that was demolished, they left a greater number of these sally-ports, that they might rush out in many places at once. In several days, at the beginning, while their strength was unimpaired, they carried on this practice, in numerous parties, and with much spirit; but then, both their numbers and spirit daily decreased. For though they had a multiplicity of difficulties to struggle with, what, above all things, utterly consumed their strength, was, the want of sleep, as the Romans, having plenty of men, relieved each other, regularly, in their posts; while, among the Ætolians, their numbers being small, the same persons were obliged to toil on through the day and night without intermission. During a space of twenty-four days, they were kept, day and night, in one continued course of unremitting exertion, against the attacks carried on by the enemy in four different quarters at once; so that they never had an hour's respite from action. When the consul, from computing the time, and from the reports of deserters, judged that the Ætolians were thoroughly fatigued, he

6

adopted

adopted the following plan. At midnight he gave the signal of retreat, and drawing off all his men, at once, from the assault, kept them quiet in the camp until the third hour of the next day. The attacks were then renewed, and continued until midnight, when they ceased, until the third hour of the day following. The Ætolians imagined that the Romans suspended the attack from the same cause by which they felt themselves distressed, excessive fatigue. As soon, therefore, as the signal of retreat was given to the Romans, as if they themselves were thereby recalled from duty, every one of them gladly retired from his post, nor did they again appear in arms, on the walls, before the third hour of the day.

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XXIV. THE consul, having put a stop to the assault at midnight, renewed it, on three of the sides, at the fourth watch, with the utmost vigour; and ordered Tiberius Sempronius, on the fourth, to keep his party alert, and ready to obey his signal; for he concluded, assuredly, that, in the tumult, by night, the enemy would all run to those quarters where they heard the shouts. Of the Ætolians, such as had gone to rest, with difficulty, roused their bodies from sleep, exhausted, as they were, with fatigue and watching; and such as were still awake, ran, in the dark, to the places where they heard the noise of fighting. Meanwhile the enemy, in some places, endeavoured to climb over the ruins of the walls, through the breaches; in others, strove to scale the walls with ladders; and the Ætolians hastened from all quarters to defend the parts attacked. In one quarter, where the buildings stood outside the city, there was neither attack nor defence, but a party stood ready, waiting for the signal, to make an attack, and there was none within to oppose them. The day now began to dawn, and the consul gave the signal; on which the party, without any opposition, made their way into the town;

BOOK XXXVI. town; some through breaches, others scaling the walls where they were entire. As soon as the Ætolians heard them raise the shout, which denoted the city being taken, they every where forsook their posts, and fled into the citadel. The victors sacked the city; the consul having given permission, not for the sake of gratifying resentment or animosity, but that the soldiers, after having been restrained from plunder in so many captured cities of the enemy, might, at last, in some one place, enjoy the fruits of victory. About mid-day he recalled the troops; and, dividing them into two parts, ordered one to be led round by the foot of the mountain to a rock which was of equal height with the citadel, and seemed as if it had been broken off from it, leaving a hollow between; but the summits of these eminences are so nearly contiguous, that weapons may be thrown into the citadel from the top of this rock. With the other half of the troops the consul intended to march up from the city, to the citadel, as soon as he should receive a signal from those who were to mount the rock, on the farther side. The Ætolians in the citadel could not support the shout of the party which had seized the rock, and the consequent attack of the Romans from the city; for their courage was now broken, and the place was, by no means, in a condition to hold out a siege of any continuance; the women, children, and great numbers of other helpless people, being crowded together in a fort, which was scarce capable of containing, much less of affording protection to, such a multitude. On the first assault, therefore, they laid down their arms, and submitted. Among the rest was delivered up Damocritus, chief magistrate of the Ætolians, who, at the beginning of the war, when Titus Quintius asked for a copy of the decree, passed by the Ætolians, for inviting Antiochus, told him, that "in Italy, when the Ætolians were encamped there, it should be delivered to him."

This

This presumptuous insolence of his enhanced the satisfaction, which the victors felt, at his being delivered into their hands.

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XXV. At the same time, while the Romans were employed in the siege of Heraclea, Philip, by concert, besieged Lamia. He had had an interview with the consul, as he was returning from Boeotia; at Thermopylae, whither he came to congratulate him and the Roman people on their successes, and to apologize for his not having taken an active part in the war, having been prevented by sickness; and then they went from thence, by different routes, to lay siege to the two cities at once. The distance between these two places is about seven miles; and as Lamia stands on high ground, and has an open prospect, on that side particularly, the distance seems very short, and every thing that passes can be seen from thence. The Romans and Macedonians, with all the emulation of competitors for a prize, employed the utmost exertions, both night and day, either in the works, or in fighting; but the Macedonians encountered greater difficulty, on this account, that the Romans made their approaches by mounds, covered galleries, and other works, which were all above ground; whereas the Macedonians worked under ground, by mines, and, in that stony soil, often met a flinty rock, which iron could not penetrate. The king, seeing that little progress could be made in that way, endeavoured, by reasoning with the principal inhabitants, to prevail on them to surrender the place; for he was fully persuaded, that, if Heraclea should be taken first, the Lamians would then choose to surrender to the Romans, rather than to him; and that the consul would take to himself the merit of relieving them from a siege. Nor was he mistaken in that opinion; for, no sooner was Heraclea reduced, than a message came to him to raise the siege; because “it was more reasonable
“ that

“ that the Roman soldiers, who had fought the Ætolians in the field, should reap the fruits of the victory.” Thus was Lamia relieved, and the misfortune of a neighbouring city proved the means of its escaping a like disaster.

XXVI. A FEW days before the capture of Heraclea, the Ætolians, having assembled a council at Hypata, sent ambassadors to Antiochus, among whom was Thoas, who had been sent to him before in the same capacity. Their instructions were, in the first place, to request the king again to assemble his land and marine forces, and come into Greece; and, in the next place, if it should be inconvenient to him to leave home, then to send them supplies of men and money. They were to remind him, that “ it concerned his dignity and his honour, not to abandon his allies; and it likewise concerned the safety of his kingdom not to leave the Romans at full leisure, after ruining the nation of the Ætolians, to carry over their whole force into Asia.” Their remonstrances were well founded, and, therefore, made the deeper impression on the king; in consequence of which, he immediately supplied the ambassadors with the money requisite for the exigencies of the war, and assured them, that he would send them succours both of troops and ships. He kept with him Thoas, one of the ambassadors, who was not unwilling to stay, as he hoped that his presence might accelerate the performance of the king’s promises.

XXVII. BUT the loss of Heraclea entirely broke the spirits of the Ætolians; insomuch that, within a few days after they had sent ambassadors into Asia, for the purpose of renewing the war, and inviting the king, they threw aside all thoughts of fighting, and sent deputies to the consul to sue for peace. When these began to speak, the consul, interrupting them,

them, said, that he had other business to attend to at present; and, ordering them to return to Hypata, he granted them a truce for ten days, and sent with them Lucius Valerius Flaccus, to whom he desired them to communicate whatever business they intended to have proposed to him, and any other that they thought proper. On their arrival at Hypata, the chiefs of the Ætolians held a consultation, at which Flaccus was present, on the method to be used in treating with the consul. They shewed an intention to begin with setting forth the ancient treaties, and the services which they had performed to the Roman people; on which Flaccus desired them to "speak no more of treaties, which they themselves had violated and annulled." He told them, that "they might expect more advantage from an acknowledgment of their fault, and a submissive entreaty. For their hopes of safety rested not on the merits of their cause, but on the clemency of the Roman people. That, if they acted in a suppliant manner, he would himself be a solicitor in their favour, both with the consul, and with the senate at Rome; for thither also they must send ambassadors." This appeared, to all of them, the only way to safety: "to submit themselves entirely to the faith of the Romans. For, in that case, the latter would be ashamed to do injury to suppliants; and they themselves would, nevertheless, retain the power of consulting their own interest, should fortune offer any thing more advantageous."

XXVIII. WHEN they came into the consul's presence, Phœneas, who was at the head of the embassy, made a long speech, in which he endeavoured, by a variety of pathetic representations, to mitigate the wrath of the conqueror; and he concluded with saying, that "the Ætolians surrendered themselves, and all belonging to them, to the faith of the

" Roman

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BOOK XLVI. "Roman people." The consul, on hearing this, "said, "Ætolians, consider well whether you will
Y.R. 561. "surrender on these terms:" and then Phæneas
B.C. 191. produced the decree, in which the words were expressly mentioned. "Since then," said the consul, "you submit in this manner, I demand, that, without delay, you deliver up to me Diczæarchus your countryman, Menetas the Epirot," who had, with an armed force, entered Naupactum, and compelled the inhabitants to revolt, "and Amynder, with the Athamanian chiefs, by whose advice you revolted from us." Phæneas, scarcely waiting until the Roman had done speaking, answered, "We surrendered ourselves not into slavery, but to your faith; and I take it for granted, that, from not being sufficiently acquainted with us, you fall into the mistake of commanding what is inconsistent with the practice of the Greeks." "Nor, in truth," replied the consul, "do I much concern myself, at present, what the Ætolians may think conformable to the practice of the Greeks; while I, conformably to the practice of the Romans, exercise authority over men, who, just now, surrendered themselves by a decree of their own, and were, before that, conquered by my arms. Wherefore, unless my commands are quickly complied with, I order, that you be put in chains." At the same time he ordered chains to be brought forth, and the lictors to surround the ambassadors. This effectually subdued the arrogance of Phæneas, and the other Ætolians; and, at length, they became sensible of their situation. Phæneas then said, that "as to himself, and the Ætolians there present, they knew that his commands must be obeyed: but it was necessary that a council of the Ætolians should meet, to pass decrees accordingly; and that, for that purpose, he requested a suspension of arms for ten days." At the intercession of Flaccus this was granted, and the Ætolians

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rians returned to Hypata. When Phœneas related here, in the select council, called Apocleti, the orders which they had received, and the treatment which they had narrowly escaped; although the melancholy condition, to which they were reduced, drew forth the deepest lamentations from the members present, nevertheless they were of opinion, that the conqueror must be obeyed, and that the Ætolians should be summoned, from all their towns, to a general assembly.

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XXIX. But when the whole assembled multitude heard the same account, their minds were so highly exasperated, both by the harshness of the order, and the indignity offered, that, even if they had been in a pacific temper before, the violent impulse of anger, which they then felt, would have been sufficient to rouse them to war. Besides their anger, there occurred the difficulty of executing the orders; for, "how was it possible for them, for instance, to deliver up king-Amynder?" It happened also, that a favourable prospect seemed to open to them; for Nicander, returning from king Antiochus at that juncture, filled the minds of the multitude with unfounded assurances, that immense preparations for war were going on both by land and sea. This man, after finishing the business of his embassy, set out on his return to Ætolia; and, on the twelfth day after he embarked, reached Phalara, on the Malian bay. Having conveyed thence, to Lamia, the money that he had brought, early in the evening, with a few light troops, he directed his course towards Hypata, by known paths, through the country which lay between the Roman and Macedonian camps, where he fell in with an advanced guard of the Macedonians, and was conducted to the king, who had not yet risen from dinner. Philip, being told of his coming, received him as a guest, not an enemy; desired him to take a seat, and a share of the enter-

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tainment; and, afterwards, when he dismissed the rest, detained him alone, and told him, that he had nothing to fear for himself. He censured severely the conduct of the Ætolians, in bringing, first, the Romans, and, afterwards, Antiochus, into Greece; designs which originated in a depravity of judgment, and always fell heavy on their own heads. But "he would forget," he said, "all past transactions, which it was easier to blame, than to amend; nor would he act in such a manner as to appear to insult their misfortunes. On the other hand, it would become the Ætolians to lay aside, at length, their animosity towards him; and it would become Nicander himself, in his private capacity, to remember that day, on which he was to be indebted to him for his preservation." He then gave him an escort to convey him to a place of safety, and Nicander arrived at Hypata, while his countrymen were consulting about the peace with Rome.

XXX. MANIUS ACILIUS having sold, or given to the soldiers, the booty found near Heraclea, and having learned that the counsels adopted at Hypata were not of a pacific nature, but that the Ætolians had hastily assembled at Naupactum, with intention to make a stand there against all their adversaries, sent forward Appius Claudius, with four thousand men, to seize the tops of the hills, where the passes through the mountains were difficult; and he himself, ascending mount Oeta, offered sacrifice to Hercules in the spot called Pyra*, because there the mortal body of that deity was burned. He then set out with the main body of the army, and marched all the rest of the way with tolerable ease and expedition. But when they came to Corax, a very high mountain between Callipolis and Naupactum, great

* The funeral pile.

numbers of the beasts of burden, together with their loads, tumbled down the precipices from the road, and many of the men were hurt. This clearly shewed an extraordinary degree of negligence in the enemy, who had not secured such a difficult pass with a guard, to shut up the road; for, even as the case was, the army suffered considerably. Hence he marched down to Naupactum; and, having erected a fort against the citadel, he invested the other parts of the city, dividing his forces according to the situation of the walls. Nor was this siege likely to prove less difficult and laborious than that of Heraclea.

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XXXI. At the same time, the Achæans laid siege to Messene, in Peloponnesus, because it refused to become a member of their body. For the two states of Messene and Elis were unconnected with the Achæan confederacy, and favoured the designs of the Ætolians. However, the Eleans, after Antiochus had been driven out of Greece, answered the deputies, sent by the Achæans, with more moderation: that "when the king's troops were removed, they would consider what part they should take." But the Messenians had dismissed the deputies without an answer, and prepared for war. Alarmed, afterwards, at the danger of their situation, when they saw the enemy ravaging their country every where, without control, and pitching their camp almost at their gates, they sent deputies to Chalcis, to Titus Quintius, the author of their liberty, to acquaint him, that "the Messenians were willing, both to open their gates, and surrender their city, to the Romans, but not to the Achæans." On hearing this report of the deputies, Quintius immediately set out, and dispatched, from Megalopolis, a messenger to Diophanes, prætor of the Achæans, requiring him to draw off his army instantly from Messene; and to come to him. Dio-

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phanes obeyed the order; raising the siege, he hastened forward himself, before the army, and met Quintius near Andania, a small town between Megalopolis and Messene. When he began to explain the reasons for commencing the siege, Quintius, gently reproving him for undertaking a business of that importance, without consulting him, ordered him to disband his army, and not to disturb a peace which had been established on terms highly beneficial to all. He commanded the Messenians to recall the exiles, and to unite themselves to the confederacy of the Achæans; and if there were any particulars to which they chose to object, or any precautions, judged requisite against future contingencies, they might apply to him at Corinth. He then gave directions to Diophanes to convene, immediately, a general council of the Achæans, that he might settle some business with them.

XXXII. IN this assembly, he complained of their having acquired possession of the island of Zacynthus, by unfair means, and demanded that it should be restored to the Romans. Zacynthus had formerly belonged to Philip, king of Macedonia, and he had made it over to Amynder, in requital of his having given him leave to march an army, through Athamania, into the upper part of Ætolia, on that expedition wherein he reduced the Ætolians to despair, and compelled them to sue for peace. Amynder gave the government of the island to Philip, the Megalopolitan; and, afterwards, during the war, in which he acted in conjunction with Antiochus against the Romans, having called out Philip to a command in the field, he sent, as his successor, Hierocles, of Argigentum. This man, after the defeat of Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, and the expulsion of Amynder from Athamania, by Philip, sent emissaries, of his own accord, to Diophanes, prætor of the Achæans, and, having bargained for a sum of money,

money, put the Achæans in possession of the island. This acquisition, made during the war, the Romans claimed as their own; for they said, that "it was not for Diophanes, and the Achæans, that the consul, Manius Acilius, and the Roman legions, fought at Thermopylæ." Diophanes, in answer, sometimes apologized for himself, and his nation; sometimes, insisted on the justice of the proceeding. But several of the Achæans testified that they had, from the beginning, disapproved of that business, and they now blamed the obstinacy of the prætor. Pursuant to their advice, a decree was made, that the affair should be left entirely to the disposal of Titus Quintius. As Quintius was severe to such as made opposition, so, when complied with, he was easily appeased. Laying aside, therefore, every thing stern, in his voice and looks, he said, "If I thought the possession of that island advantageous to the Achæans, I would be the first to advise the senate and people of Rome to leave it in your hands. But, as I see that a tortoise, when collected within its natural covering, is safe against blows of any kind, and whenever it thrusts out any of its members, it feels whatever it has thus uncovered, weak, and liable to every injury; so you, Achæans, being inclosed, on all sides, by the sea, can easily unite among yourselves, and maintain, by that union, all that is comprehended within the limits of Peloponnesus; but whenever, through ambition of enlarging your possessions, you overstep these limits, then, all that you hold beyond them, is naked, and exposed to every attack." The whole assembly declaring their assent, and Diophanes not daring to give farther opposition, Zacynthus was ceded to the Romans.

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XXXIII. WHEN the consul was on his march to Naupactum, king Philip proposed to him, that, if it was agreeable to him, he would, in the mean

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time, retake those cities that had revolted from their alliance with Rome; and, having obtained his permission, he, about this time, marched his army to Demetrias, where he knew that great distraction prevailed: for the garrison, being destitute of all hope of succour, since they were abandoned by Antiochus, and having no reliance on the Ætolians, daily and nightly expected the arrival of Philip, at the head of his army, or that of the Romans, which they had more reason to dread, as these were more justly incensed against them. There was, in the place, an irregular multitude of the king's soldiers, a few of whom had been, at first, stationed there as a garrison, but the greater part had fled thither, after the defeat of his army, most of them without arms, and without either strength or courage sufficient to sustain a siege. Wherefore, on Philip's sending on messengers, to offer them hopes of favourable terms, they answered, that their gates were open for the king. On his first entrance, several of the chiefs left the city; Eurylochus killed himself. The soldiers of Antiochus, in conformity to a stipulation, were escorted, through Macedonia and Thrace, by a body of Macedonians, and conducted to Lyfimachia. There were, also, a few ships at Demetrias, under the command of Isidorus, which, together with their commander, were dismissed. Philip then reduced Dolopia, Aperantia, and several cities of Perrhæbia.

XXXIV. WHILE Philip was thus employed, Titus Quintius, after receiving, from the Achaean council, the cession of Zacynthus, crossed over to Naupactum, which had stood a siege of near two months, but was now reduced to a desperate condition; and it was supposed, that if it should be taken by storm, the whole nation of the Ætolians would be sunk thereby in utter destruction. But, although he had good reason to be angry with the Ætolians, from the recollection, that they alone had attempted

attempted to depreciate his merits, when he was giving liberty to Greece, and had refused to pay any regard to his advice, when he endeavoured, by fore-
 warning them of the events which had since occurred, to deter them from their mad undertaking: nevertheless, thinking it particularly incumbent on him, who had bestowed liberty on Greece, to prevent any of its states from being entirely subverted, he, first, walked about near the walls, that he might be easily known by the Ætolians. He was quickly distinguished by the first advanced guards, and the news spread from rank to rank, that Quintius was there. On this, the people, from all sides, ran to the walls, and eagerly stretching out their hands, all, in one joint cry, besought Quintius, by name, to assist and save them. Although he was much affected by these entreaties, yet, for that time, he made signs with his hand, that they were to expect no assistance from him. However, when he met the consul, he accosted him thus: "Manius Acilius, are you un-
 apprised of what is passing, or do you know it, and think it immaterial to the interest of the commonwealth?" These words raising the consul's curiosity, he requested him to explain what he meant. Quintius then said, "Do you not see that, since the defeat of Antiochus, you have been wasting time in besieging two cities, though the year of your command is near expiring; but that Philip, who never faced the enemy, or even saw their standards, has annexed to his dominions such a number, not only of cities, but of nations, Athamania, Perrhæbia, Aperantia, Dolopia? But, surely, we are not so deeply interested in diminishing the strength and resources of the Ætolians, as in hindering those of Philip from being augmented, beyond measure; and in you, and your soldiers, not having yet gained, to reward your victory, as many towns as Philip has gained Grecian states."

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XXXV. THE consul assented to the justice of his remarks, but was ashamed to let himself be foiled in his attempt, and to raise the siege. At length, the matter was left, entirely, to the management of Quintius. He went, again, to that part of the wall, whence the Ætolians had called to him, a little before; and, on their entreating him, now, with still greater earnestness, to take compassion on the nation of the Ætolians, he desired that some of them might come out to him. Accordingly Phœneas, himself, with some others of the principal men, instantly came out, and threw themselves at his feet. He then said, "Your condition causes me to restrain my resentment, and my reproofs. The events, which I foretold, have come to pass, and you have not even so much consolation left, as the reflection, that you have not deserved, what has fallen upon you. Nevertheless, since fate has, in some manner, destined me to the office of cherishing the interests of Greece, I will not cease to shew kindness, even to the unthankful. Send a suppliant embassy to the consul, and let them petition him for a suspension of hostilities, for so long a time, as will allow you, to send ambassadors to Rome, to surrender yourselves to the will of the senate. I will intercede, and plead in your favour with the consul." They did as Quintius directed; nor did the consul reject their application. He granted them a truce, for a certain time, until an account might be brought, from Rome, of the result of their embassy; and then, raising the siege, he sent his army into Phocis. The consul, with Titus Quintius, crossed over thence, to Ægium, to confer with the council of the Achæans, where the business of the Eleans was introduced, and, also, a proposal of restoring the Lacedæmonian exiles. But neither was carried into execution, because the Achæans chose to reserve to themselves the merit of effecting the latter; and the Eleans preferred being united.

united to the Achæan confederacy, by a voluntary act of their own, rather than through the mediation of the Romans. Ambassadors came hither, to the consul, from the Epirots, who, it was well known, had not fulfilled, with sincerity, the engagements to which they were bound by the treaty of alliance: Although they had not furnished Antiochus with any soldiers, yet they were charged with having assisted him with money; and they themselves did not disavow, the having sent ambassadors to him. They requested, that they might be permitted to continue on the former footing of friendship. To which the consul answered, that "he did not yet know whether he was to consider them as friends, or foes. The Senate must be the judge of that matter. He would, therefore, take no step in the business, but leave it to be determined at Rome; and, for that purpose, he granted them a truce of ninety days." When the Epirots, who were sent to Rome, addressed the senate, they rather enumerated the hostile acts which they had not committed, than cleared themselves of those laid to their charge; and they received an answer of such a kind, as shewed that they had rather obtained pardon, than proved their innocence. About the same time, ambassadors from king Philip were introduced to the senate, and presented his congratulations on their late successes. They requested permission to sacrifice in the Capitol, and to deposit an offering of gold in the temple of Jupiter, supremely good and great. This was granted by the senate, and they presented a golden crown of an hundred pounds weight. The senate not only answered the ambassadors, with kindness, but gave them Demetrius, Philip's son, who was at Rome as an hostage, to be conducted home to his father.—Such was the conclusion of the war waged in Greece, by the consul, Manius Acilius, against king Antiochus.

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XXXVI. THE other consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, to whose lot the province of Gaul had fallen, before he set out to take the field against the Boians, demanded of the senate, by a decree, to order him money for the exhibition of games, which, when acting as proprætor in Spain, he had vowed, at a critical time of a battle. His demand was deemed unprecedented and unreasonable, and they therefore voted, that "whatever games he had vowed, on his own single judgment, without consulting the senate, he should celebrate out of the spoils, if he had reserved any money for the purpose; otherwise, at his own expence." Accordingly, Publius Cornelius exhibited those games, through the space of ten days. About this time, the temple of the great Idæan Mother was dedicated; which deity, on her being brought from Asia, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, and Publius Licinius, the above-mentioned Publius Cornelius had conducted from the sea-side to the Palatine. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, censors, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted with builders to erect her temple; and, thirteen years after that, it was dedicated by Marcus Junius Brutus, and games were celebrated on occasion of its dedication: in which, according to the account of Valerius Antias, dramatic entertainments were, for the first time, introduced into the Megalesian games. Likewise, Caius Licinius Lucullus, being appointed duumvir, dedicated the temple of Youth in the great Circus. This temple had been vowed sixteen years before, by Marcus Livius, consul, on the day whereon he cut off Hasdrubal and his army; and the same person, when censor, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted for the building of it. Games were also exhibited on occasion of this dedication, and every thing was performed, with the

the greater degree of religious zeal, on account of the new war with Antiochus impending.

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XXXVII. AT the beginning of the year, in which those transactions passed, after Manius Acilius had gone to open the campaign, and while the other consul, Publius Cornelius, yet remained in Rome, two tame oxen, it is said, climbed up by ladders on the tiles of a house in the Carinæ. The haruspices ordered them to be burned alive, and their ashes to be thrown into the Tiber. It was reported, that several showers of stones had fallen at Tarracina, and Amiternum; that, at Minturnæ, the temple of Jupiter, and the shops round the Forum, were struck by lightning; that, at Vulturnum, in the mouth of the river, two ships were struck by lightning, and burnt to ashes. On occasion of these prodigies, the decemvirs, being ordered by a decree of the senate to consult the Sibylline books, declared, that "a fast ought to be instituted in honour of Ceres, and the same observed every fifth year; that the nine days' worship ought to be solemnized, and a supplication for one day; and that, when employed in the supplication, the people should wear garlands on their heads; also, that the consul, Publius Cornelius, should sacrifice to such deities, and with such victims, as the decemvirs should direct." When he had used every means to avert the wrath of the gods, by duly fulfilling vows, and expiating prodigies, the consul went to his province; and, ordering the proconsul, Cneius Domitius, to disband his army, and go home to Rome, he marched his own legions into the territory of the Boians.

XXXVIII. NEARLY at the same time, the Ligurians, having collected an army, under the sanction of their devoting law, made an unexpected attack, in the night, on the camp of the proconsul, Quintus Minucius,

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B. C. 391. Minucius. Minucius kept his troops, until daylight, drawn up within the rampart, and watchful to prevent the enemy scaling any part of the fortifications. At the first light, he made a sally, out of two gates at once: but the Ligurians did not, as he had expected, give way to his first onset; on the contrary, they maintained a dubious contest, for more than two hours. At last, as supplies of troops continually came out from the camp, and fresh men took the places of those who were wearied in the fight, the Ligurians, who, besides other hardships, felt a great loss of strength from the want of sleep, after a severe struggle, betook themselves to flight. Above four thousand of the enemy were killed; the Romans, and allies, lost not quite three hundred. About two months after this, the consul, Publius Cornelius, fought a pitched battle with the army of the Boians, with extraordinary success. Valerius Antias affirms, that twenty-eight thousand of the enemy were slain, and three thousand four hundred taken, with an hundred and twenty-four military standards, one thousand two hundred and thirty horses, and two hundred and forty-seven waggons; and that, of the conquerors, there fell one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. Though we may not entirely credit this writer, with respect to the numbers, as he always exaggerates most extravagantly, yet, it is certain, that the victory on this occasion was very complete; because the enemy's camp was taken, and, immediately after the battle, the Boians surrendered themselves; and because a supplication was decreed, by the senate, on account of the victory, and victims of the greater kinds were sacrificed.

XXXIX. THE consul, Publius Cornelius, having first received hostages from the Boians, punished them so far as to deprive them of almost one-half of their lands, into which the Roman people might, afterwards, if they chose, send colonies. Then, returning

turning home, in full confidence of a triumph, he dismissed his troops, and ordered them to attend on the day of his triumph at Rome. The next day, after his arrival, he held a meeting of the senate, in the temple of Bellona; and, after recounting his services, demanded permission to ride through the city, in triumph. Publius Sempronius Blæsus, tribune of the people, advised, that "the honour of a triumph should not be refused to Scipio, but postponed. "Wars of the Ligurians," he said, "were always united with wars of the Gauls; for these nations, lying so near, sent mutual assistance to each other. If Publius Scipio, after subduing the Boians in battle, had either gone himself, with his victorious army, into the country of the Ligurians, or sent a part of his forces to Quintus Minucius, who was detained there, now, the third year, by a war, of which the issue was still uncertain, the war with the Ligurians might have been brought to an end: instead of which, he had, in order to procure a full attendance on his triumph, brought home the troops, who might have performed most material services to the state; and might do so still, if the senate thought proper, by deferring the triumph, to redeem the omission, occasioned by haste, to obtain that triumph. If they would order the consul to return with his legions into his province, and to give his assistance towards subduing the Ligurians; for, unless these were reduced under the dominion, and jurisdiction, of the Roman people, neither would the Boians ever remain quiet: there must be either peace or war with both. When the Ligurians should be subdued, Publius Cornelius, in quality of præconsul, might triumph, a few months later, as had been the case of many, who did not triumph before the expiration of their office."

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XL. To this the consul answered, that "neither
 " had the province of Liguria fallen to his lot, nor
 " had he waged war with the Ligurians, nor did he
 " demand a triumph over them. He confidently
 " hoped, that, in a short time, Quintus Minucius,
 " after completing their reduction, would demand,
 " and obtain, a well-deserved triumph. For his
 " part, he demanded a triumph over the Boian
 " Gauls, whom he had vanquished in battle, and
 " driven out of their camp; of whose whole nation
 " he had received an absolute submission, within
 " two days after the fight; and from whom he had
 " brought home hostages to secure peace in future.
 " But there was another circumstance, of much
 " greater magnitude: he had slain in battle so great
 " a number of Gauls, that no commander, before
 " him, could say that he ever met in the field so
 " many thousands, at least of the Boians. Out of
 " fifty thousand men, more than one-half were
 " killed; and many thousands made prisoners; so
 " that the Boians had, now remaining, only old men
 " and boys. Could it then be a matter of surprise,
 " to any one, that a victorious army, which had not
 " left one enemy in the province, should come to
 " Rome to attend the triumph of their consul? And
 " if the senate should choose to employ the services
 " of these troops, in another province also, of the
 " two kinds of treatment which, could it be sup-
 " posed, would make them enter on a new course
 " of danger and fatigue, with the greater alacrity;
 " the paying them the reward of their former toils
 " and dangers, without defalcation; or, the sending
 " them away, with the hope, instead of the sub-
 " stance, after their first hopes had terminated in
 " disappointment? As to what concerned himself,
 " personally, he had acquired a stock of glory suf-
 " ficient for his whole life, on that day, when the
 " senate adjudged him to be the best man in the
 " state, and commissioned him to give a reception
 " to

* to the Idæan Mother. With this inscription, " though neither consulship, nor triumph, were added, the statue of Publius Scipio Nasica would be sufficiently honoured and dignified." The senate, not only, gave their own unanimous vote for his triumph, but, by their influence, prevailed on the tribune to desist from his intention of protesting against it. Publius Cornelius, consul, triumphed over the Boians. In this triumph, he carried in procession, on Gallic waggons, arms, standards, and spoils, of all sorts; the brazen utensils of the Gauls; and, together with the prisoners of distinction, he led a train of captured horses. He carried to the treasury, a thousand four hundred and seventy golden chains; and, besides these, two hundred and forty-five pounds weight of gold, two thousand three hundred and forty pounds weight of silver, some unwrought, and some formed in vessels of the Gallic fashion, not without beauty, and two hundred and thirty-three thousand denariuses*. To the soldiers, who followed his chariot, he distributed three hundred and twenty-five asēs † each, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. Next day, he summoned an assembly, and, after ex-patiating on his own services, and the ill-treatment shewn him by the tribune, who wanted to entangle him in a war which did not belong to him, in order to defraud him of the fruits of his success, he absolved the soldiers of their oath, and discharged them.

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XII. WHILE this passed in Italy, Antiochus was at Ephesus, divested of all concern, respecting the war with Rome, as supposing that the Romans had no intention of coming into Asia; into which state of security, he was lulled by the erroneous opinions, or the flattering representations, of the greater part of his friends. Hannibal, alone, whole judgment

* 75231. 169. ad.

† 21. 49. 24d.

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was, at that time, the most highly respected by the king, declared, that " he rather wondered the Romans were not already in Asia, than entertained a doubt of their coming. The passage was easier from Greece to Asia, than from Italy to Greece, and Antiochus was a much more inviting object than the Ætolians. For the Roman arms were not less powerful on sea, than on land. Their fleet had long been at Malea, and he had heard, that a reinforcement of ships, and a new commander, had lately come from Italy, with intent to enter on action. He therefore advised Antiochus, not to form to himself vain hopes of peace. He must necessarily, in a short time, maintain a contest with the Romans, both on sea and land; in Asia, and for Asia itself; and must, either, wrest the power out of hands that grasped at the empire of the world, or lose his own dominions." He seemed to be the only person, who had judgment to foresee, and sincerity to foretel, what was to happen. The king, therefore, with the ships which were fit for sea, and in readiness, sailed to the Chersonesus, in order to secure the places there with garrisons, lest the Romans should happen to come by land. He left orders with Polyxenidas, to fit out the rest of the fleet, and put to sea; and sent out advice-boats, among the islands, to procure intelligence of every thing that was passing.

XLII. WHEN Caius Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, sailed, with fifty decked ships, from Rome, he went to Neapolis, where he had appointed the rendezvous of the undecked ships, which were due, by treaty, from the allies on that coast; and thence he proceeded to Sicily, where, as he sailed through the streight, beyond Messina, he was joined by six Carthaginian ships, sent to his assistance; and then, having collected the ships due from the Rhegians, Locrians, and other allies, who were bound
by

by the same conditions, he purified the fleet at Lacinium, and put forth into the open sea. On his arrival at Corcyra, which was the first Grecian country where he touched, inquiring about the state of the war, (for the commotions in Greece were not yet entirely composed,) and about the Roman fleet, he was told, that the consul and the king were posted at the pass of Thermopylae, and that the fleet lay at Pyraeus; on which, judging expedition necessary, on every account, he sailed directly forward to Peloponnesus. Having, on his passage, ravaged Samos and Zacynthus, because they favoured the party of the Aetolians, he bent his course to Malea, and, meeting very favourable weather, arrived in a few days at Pyraeus, and joined the old fleet. At Scylæum he was met by king Eumenes, with three ships. He had long hesitated, at Ægina, whether he should go home to defend his own kingdom, on hearing that Antiochus was preparing both marine and land forces, at Ephesus, or should unite himself inseparably to the Romans, on whose destiny his own depended. Aulus Atilius, having delivered to his successor twenty-five decked ships, left Piræus, and sailed for Rome. Livius, with eighty-one beaked ships, beside many others of inferior rates, some of which were open, and furnished with beaks, others, without beaks, fit for advice-boats, crossed over to Delos.

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XLIII. At this time, the consul, Acilius, was engaged in the siege of Naupactum. Livius was detained several days at Delos, by contrary winds, for that tract among the Cyclades, which are separated, in some places, by larger streights, in others by smaller, is remarkably subject to storms. Polyxenidas, receiving intelligence from his scout-ships, which he had stationed in various places, that the Roman fleet lay at Delos, sent off an express to the king, who, quitting the business in which he was

employed, in Hellespontus, and taking with him all the ships of war, returned to Ephesus with all possible speed, and instantly called a council, to determine whether he should risk an engagement at sea. Polyxenidas affirmed, that "no time ought to be lost; and that it was particularly requisite to come to an engagement, before the fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodian ships should join the Romans; in which case they would scarcely be inferior in number, and, in every other particular, would have a great superiority, by reason of the agility of their ships, and a variety of favourable circumstances. For the Roman ships, being unskilfully contructed, were slow in their motions; and, besides that, as they were coming to an enemy's country, they would come heavily laden with provisions: whereas their own, leaving none but friends in all the countries round, would have nothing on board but men and arms. They would also have a great advantage in their knowledge of the sea, of the adjacent country, and of the winds; of all which the Romans being ignorant, would find themselves much at a loss." Every one was convinced by his arguments, especially as the same person, who gave the advice, was also to carry it into execution. Two days only were spent in making preparations, and, on the third, setting sail with an hundred ships, of which seventy had decks, and the rest were open, but all of the smaller rates, they steered their course to Phocæa. The king, as he did not intend to be present in the naval combat, on hearing that the Roman fleet was approaching, withdrew hence to Magnesia, near Sipylus, to collect his land forces; and the fleet proceeded to Cyfius, a port of Prythraa, where they supposed they might with more convenience wait for the enemy. The Romans, as soon as the north wind, which had held for several days, ceased, sailed from Delos to Phanæ, a port in Chios, opposite the Ægean sea. They,

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afterwards, brought round the fleet to the city of Chios, and, having taken in provisions there, sailed over to Phocæa. Eumenes, who had gone to Elæa to his own fleet, returned, a few days after, with twenty-four decked ships, and a greater number of open ones, and joined the Romans at Phocæa, where they were sitting and preparing themselves for a sea-fight. The fleet, which now consisted of an hundred and five decked ships, and about fifty open ones, on setting sail from this, was, for some time, driven forcibly towards the land, by a north wind, blowing across its course; and the ships were thereby obliged to go, for the most part, singly, one after another, in a thin line; afterwards, when the violence of the wind abated a little, they endeavoured to stretch over to the harbour of Corycus, beyond Cyffus.

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XLIV. WHEN Polyxenidas learned that the enemy were approaching, rejoiced at an opportunity of engaging, he drew out the left squadron towards the open sea, and ordered the commanders of the ships to extend the right division towards the land; and then advanced to the fight, with his fleet in a regular line of battle a-head. The Roman commander, on seeing this, furled his sails, lowered his masts, and, at the same time, adjusting his rigging, waited for the ships, which were coming up behind. There were, now, about thirty in front; and, in order that his left squadron might form a front, in a line with this, he hoisted his top-sails, and stretched out into the deep, ordering the others, as they came up, to push forward, between him and the land, against the right squadron of the enemy. Eumenes brought up the rear; who, as soon as he saw the bustle of taking down the rigging begin, likewise led on his division with the utmost speed they were capable of making. All their ships were, by this time, in sight; and two Carthaginian ships, which advanced before the Roman fleet, were attacked by three belonging to the king.

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king. As the numbers were unequal, two of the king's ships fell upon one, and, in the first place, swept away the oars from both its sides; the armed mariners then boarded, and, killing some of the crew, and driving others overboard, took the ship. The one which had engaged in an equal contest, on seeing the other taken, lest she should be surrounded by the three at once, fled back to the fleet. Livius, fired with indignation, bore down in the commander's ship against the enemy, and the two which had overpowered the Carthaginian ship, in hopes of the same success against this one, advanced to the attack, on which he ordered the rowers on both sides to plunge their oars in the water, in order to hold the ship steady, and to throw grappling-irons into the enemy's ships, as they came up. Having, by these means, rendered the business something like a fight on land, he desired his men to act with the courage of Romans, and not to consider the slaves of a king as men. Accordingly, this single ship now defeated and took the two, with more ease than the two had before taken one. By this time the whole fleets on both sides were engaged, and intermixed with each other, as they carried on the fight. Eumenes, who had come up last, after the battle was begun, when he saw the left squadron of the enemy thrown into disorder by Livius, directed his own attack against their right, where the contest was yet equal.

XLV. In a short time after, the left Squadron first began to fly: for Polyxenidas, perceiving that he was evidently overmatched, with respect to the bravery of the men, hoisted his top-sails, and fled, as fast as he could; and, quickly after, those who were engaged with Eumenes, near the land, did the same. The Romans, and Eumenes, pursued with much perseverance, as long as the rowers were able to hold out, and they had any prospect of annoying the rear of the enemy: but, finding that the latter,

by

by reason of the lightness and fleetness of their ships, baffled every effort that could be made by their's, loaded as they were with provisions, they, at length, desisted, having taken thirteen ships, together with the soldiers and rowers, and sunk ten. Of the Roman fleet, only the one Carthaginian ship, which, at the beginning of the action had been attacked by two, was lost. Polyxenidas continued his flight, without stopping, until he got into the harbour of Ephesus. The Romans staid, during the remainder of that day, in the port from which the king's fleet had sailed out, and, on the day following, proceeded in pursuit of the enemy. About midway, they were met by twenty-five Rhodian decked ships, commanded by Pausistratus; and, in conjunction with these, followed the enemy to Ephesus, where they stood for some time, in order of battle, before the mouth of the harbour. Having thus extorted from the enemy, a full confession of their being defeated, the Romans sent home the Rhodians and Eumenes, and steered their course to Chios. When they had, on their way, first, passed by Phœnicus, a port of Erythræa, they cast anchor for the night; and, next day, passing over to the island, came up to the city itself. After halting here a few days, for the purpose chiefly of refreshing the rowers, they sailed over to Phocæa. Here they left four quinqueremes, for the defence of the city, and the rest of the fleet proceeded to Canæ, where, as the winter now approached, the ships were hauled upon shore, and surrounded with a trench and rampart. At the close of the year, the elections were held at Rome, in which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and Caius Lælius, from whom all men expected the conclusion of the war with Antiochus. Next day, were elected prætors, Marcus Tuccius, Lucius Aurunculeius, Cneius Fulvius, Lucius Æmilius, Publius Junius, and Caius Atinius Labeo.

BOOK
XXXVI.
Y. R. 561.
B. C. 191.

THE
HISTORY OF ROME,

BOOK XXXVII.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, consul, accompanied by his brother, Publius Scipio Africanus, sent into Asia against Antiochus, the first Roman who ever led an army thither, Æmilius Regillus, aided by the Rhodians, defeats Antiochus's fleet at Myonesus. The son of Scipio Africanus, taken prisoner by Antiochus, is sent back to his father. Marcus Licinius Calpurnius, having driven Antiochus out of Greece, triumphs over him and the Ætolians. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, assisted by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, vanquishes Antiochus; grants him peace, on condition of his evacuating all the countries on the hither side of Mount Taurus. Lands and cities given to Eumenes, to requite his assistance in the conquest of Antiochus; also to the Rhodians, on the like account. A new colony established, called the Bononian. Æmilius Regillus triumphs on account of his naval victory. Lucius Cornelius Scipio obtains the surname of Asiaticus.

BOOK I. **O**N the commencement of the consulship of
XX. VII. Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Lælius,
the first business introduced in the senate, after the
Y. R. 562. concerns of religion, was, that of the Ætolians.
B. C. 190. Their own ambassadors were importunate in their
solicitations to have it brought on, because the pe-
riod of the truce granted them was short; and they
were seconded by Titus Quintius, who had, by this
time,

time, come home from Greece to Rome. The Ætolians, as they rested their hopes on the compassion of the senate, more than on the merits of their cause, acted the part of suppliants, humbly representing their former services as a counterbalance to their late misbehaviour. But, while they were present, they were teized by all the senators with questions tending to draw from them a confession of guilt, rather than information; and, after they were ordered to withdraw, they became the subject of a warm dispute. Resentment had more power in their case than compassion; for the senate were incensed against them, not merely as enemies, but as an uncivilized and unsocial race. After a debate, which lasted several days, it was at last resolved, that peace should neither be granted, nor refused. The option was given them of two conditions; either to submit themselves absolutely to the disposal of the senate, or to pay one thousand talents*, and have no other allies, or enemies, than those who were such to Rome. They wished to have the extent of that power defined which the senate was to exercise over them, but received no positive answer. They were therefore dismissed, without having concluded any treaty of peace, and were ordered to quit the city that very day, and Italy within fifteen days. The next business proceeded on was, the appointing the provinces of the consuls. Both of these wished for Greece. Lælius had a powerful interest in the senate; and when an order was passed there, that the consuls should either cast lots for the provinces, or settle them between themselves, he observed, that they would act more judiciously in leaving that matter to the wisdom of the senators, than to the decision of lots. To which Scipio answered, that he would take advice how he ought to act. He consulted his brother only, who desired him to leave it, with confidence,

* 193,750 l.

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to the senate: and then he answered his colleague, that he would do as he had recommended. This mode of proceeding was either perfectly new; or, if there had been any precedent, it was of so old a date, that all memory of it was lost: a warm debate was therefore expected, on its being proposed to the senate. But Publius Scipio Africanus offering, that "if they decreed that province to his brother, Lucius Scipio, he would go along with him, as his lieutenant-general;" his proposal was received with universal approbation, and put an end to all dispute. The senate were well pleased to make the trial, whether king Antiochus should receive more effectual aid from the vanquished Hannibal, or the Roman consul and legions from his conqueror Africanus; and they almost unanimously voted Greece to Scipio, and Italy to Lælius. The prætor then cast lots for their provinces: Lucius Aurunculeius obtained the city jurisdiction, Cneius Fulvius the foreign; Lucius Æmilius Regillus, the fleet; Publius Junius Brutus, Tuscany; Marcus Tuccius, Apulia and Bruttium; and Caius Atinius, Sicily.

II. ORDERS were then issued, that the consul, to whom the province of Greece had been decreed, should, in addition to the army which he was to receive from Manius Acilius, and which consisted of two legions, have a reinforcement of three thousand Roman foot, and one hundred horse; and of the Latine confederates, five thousand foot, and two hundred horse: and it was farther ordered, that if, when he arrived in his province, he should judge it conducive to the public interest, he should be at liberty to carry over the army into Asia. To the other consul was decreed an army entirely new; two Roman legions, and, of the Latine confederates, fifteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. Quintus Minucius was ordered to remove his army out of Liguria, (which province, according to his letters, was

was entirely reduced, the whole nation having submitted,) into the country of the Boians, and to give up the command of it to Publius Cornelius, proconsul. The two city legions, enlisted the year before, were brought home from the country taken from the Boians, when they were conquered, and assigned to Marcus Tuccius, prætor, together with fifteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse, of the Latine confederates, for the defence of Apulia and Bruttium. Aulus Cornelius, a prætor of the preceding year, who had the command of an army in Bruttium, received an order, that, if the consul judged it proper, he should transport his legions into Ætolia, and give them to Manius Acilius, provided the latter was inclined to remain there; but, if Acilius wished to go home to Rome, that then Aulus Cornelius should stay in Ætolia with that army. It was resolved, that Caius Atinius Labeo should receive from Marcus Æmilius the province of Sicily, and the army there; and should, if he deemed it proper, enlist, in the province itself, two thousand foot, and one hundred horse, to fill up deficiencies. Publius Junius Brutus was ordered to raise a new army for Tuscany, consisting of one Roman legion, and ten thousand Latine foot, and four hundred horse. Lucius Æmilius, who had the command of the fleet, was ordered to receive from Marcus Junius, prætor of the former year, twenty ships of war, with their crews, and himself to enlist one thousand marines, and two thousand foot soldiers, with which ships and soldiers he was to sail to Asia, and receive the command of the fleet from Caius Livius. The present governors of the two Spains, and of Sardinia, were continued in command, and ordered to keep the same armies. Sicily and Sardinia were, this year, assessed in two-tenths of their corn. All the corn from Sicily was ordered to be carried into Ætolia, to the army there; of that to be collected from Sardinia,

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dinia, one-half to Rome, and the other half into Ætolia, for the same use as the corn from Sicily.

III. It was judged proper, that, previous to the departure of the consuls for their provinces, the prodigies which had occurred should be expiated under the direction of the pontiffs. The temple of Juno Lucina, at Rome, was struck by lightning, in such a manner, that the ceiling and the folding-doors were much damaged. At Puteoli, several parts of the wall, and a gate, were struck by lightning, and two men killed. It was clearly proved, that at Nursia, in the midst of a calm, a tempest suddenly burst forth; and there also two men of free condition were killed. The Tusculans reported, that a shower of earth fell in their country; and the Reatinæ, that a mule brought forth young in their's. Expiations were performed for all these, and the Larine festival was celebrated a second time, because the flesh meat, due to the Laurentians, had not been given them. There was also a supplication made on account of those portents, the decemvirs giving directions, from the books, to which of the gods it should be performed. Ten freeborn youths, and ten virgins, all of whom had their fathers and mothers living, were employed in that ceremony; and the decemvirs sacrificed, in the night, young cattle not weaned from the dam. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before he left the city, erected an arch on the hill of the Capitol, facing the road that leads up to the temple, adorned it with seven gilded statues, and two horses, and placed two marble cisterns in the front of the arch. About this time, forty-three of the principal Ætolians, among whom were Dainocritus and his brother, were brought to Rome by two cohorts, sent by Manius Acilius, and were thrown into the prison called Lautumniæ, or the quarry; and the cohorts were ordered, by the consul

sal Lucius Cornelius, to return to the army. Ambassadors came from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, congratulating the Romans on their consul Manus Acilius having driven king Antiochus out of Greece, and advising, that he should carry over his army into Asia. For "all places, "not only in Asia, but also in Syria, were filled "with consternation; and that the king and queen "of Egypt would hold themselves in readiness to "act as the senate should direct." Thanks were returned to the king and queen, and presents were ordered to be made to the ambassadors, four thousand ales * to each,

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IV. THE consul, Lucius Cornelius, having finished what was necessary to be done at Rome, gave public notice in an assembly of the people, that the soldiers, whom he himself had enlisted for supplying deficiencies, and those who were in Bruttium with Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, should all meet him at Brundisium on the ides of July. He likewise appointed three lieutenant-generals; Sextus Digitius, Lucius Apustius, and Caius Fabricius Luscinus; who were to bring together ships, from all parts of the sea-coast, to Brundisium: and now, every thing being ready, he set out from the city in his military robe of state. No less than five thousand volunteers of the Romans and allies, who had served out the legal term, under the command of Publius Africanus, attended the consul at his departure, and offered their services. Just at the time when the consul went to join the army, during the celebration of the Apollinarian games, on the fifth of the ides of July, though the sky was serene, the light was obscured, in the middle of the day, by the moon passing over the orb of the sun. Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded the fleet, set out likewise at the same time.

* 12 l. 18 s. 4 d.

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Lucius Aurunculeius was commissioned by the senate to build thirty quinqueremes and twenty triremes, in consequence of a report prevailing, that Antiochus, since the engagement at sea, was fitting out a much larger fleet. When the Ætolians learned from their ambassadors, who returned from Rome, that there was no prospect of peace, notwithstanding that their whole sea-coast, opposite to Peloponnesus, was ravaged by the Achæans, yet, regarding the danger impending more than their losses, they seized on mount Corax, in order to shut up the pass against the Romans; for they had no doubt of their returning, in the beginning of spring, and renewing the siege of Naupactum. Acilius, who knew that this was expected, judged it more advisable to undertake an enterprise that was not foreseen, and to lay siege to Lamia; for the garrison had been reduced by Philip almost to a state of desperation; and, at present, from the very circumstance of their not apprehending any such attempt, they might probably be surprised and overpowered. Marching from Elatia he formed his first encampment in the enemy's country on the banks of the river Sperchius, and decamping thence, in the night, he, at break of day, made a general assault on the town.

V. In consequence of the unexpectedness of the affair, great consternation and tumult ensued; yet the men fought with greater resolution than any one could suppose them capable of under such a sudden alarm, and the women brought weapons of every kind, and stones, to the walls; so that, although scaling-ladders were raised against the walls, in various places, yet, for that day, they maintained the defence of the place. About mid-day Acilius gave the signal of retreat, and drew off his men to their camp. After their strength was repaired by food and rest, before he dismissed the meeting in the Prætorium, he gave them notice, "to be ready, " under

“ under arms, before day ; and that they were not
 “ to return into their camp until the city should be
 “ taken.” Next day, at the same hour as before,
 he began the assault again, in a greater number of
 places ; and, as not only the strength, but also the
 weapons, and, above all, the courage of the garrison
 began to fail, he made himself master of the town in
 the space of a few hours. One-half of the spoil,
 found there, he sold, the other he gave to the sol-
 diers ; and then he held a council, to determine what
 he should next undertake. No one approved of
 going against Naupactum, while the pass at Corax
 was occupied by the Ætolians. But, not to pass the
 campaign in idleness, and, by his supineness, allow
 the Ætolians that state of peace which they could
 not obtain from the senate, Acilius resolved to be-
 siege Amphissa ; and he led his army thither from
 Heraclea by Oeta. Having encamped under the
 walls, he proceeded against the place, not by general
 assault, as at Lamia, but by regular approaches. The
 ram was brought up to the wall in many places at
 once, and though the walls were shaken by it, yet
 the townsmen never endeavoured to provide or con-
 trive any sort of defence against attacks of that kind ;
 but, placing all their hopes in their arms and daring
 courage, by frequent sallies they much annoyed both
 the advanced guards of the enemy, and even those
 who were employed at the works and machines.

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VI. THERE were now many breaches made in
 the walls, when the consul received intelligence that
 his successor, having landed his army at Apollonia,
 was coming through Epirus and Thessaly. The
 consul was coming at the head of thirteen thousand
 foot and five hundred horse. He had lately arrived
 at the Malian bay, and sent a message to Hypata,
 demanding the surrender of the city ; but the townsmen
 answered, that they would do nothing without
 a decree of the general council of Ætolia : on which,
 unwilling

BOOK XXXVII. unwilling to be detained in the siege of Hypatæ, while that of Amphissa was still unfinished, he sent on his brother Africanus before him, and marched himself towards Amphissa. A little before their arrival the townspeople abandoned the city, for it was now, for the most part, stripped of its walls; and they, one and all, armed and unarmed, retired into the citadel, which they deemed an impregnable fortress. The consul pitched his camp at the distance of about six miles from the town; and thither came ambassadors from the Athenians, addressing, first, Publius Scipio, who preceded the main body, as before mentioned, and afterwards the consul, with earnest supplications in favour of the Ætolians. They received a milder answer from Africanus, who wished for an honourable pretext for relinquishing the Ætolian war, and directed his views towards Asia and king Antiochus, and had recommended to the Athenians to persuade not the Romans only, but the Ætolians likewise, to prefer peace to war. Pursuant to the advice of the Athenians, a numerous embassy of the Ætolians came speedily from Hypatæ, and the discourse of Africanus, whom they addressed first, augmented their hopes of peace; for he mentioned, that "many nations and states, first in Spain, and afterwards in Africa, had surrendered themselves to him; and that, in all of them, he had left greater monuments of clemency and kindness, than of military prowess." The business seemed to be concluded, when the consul, on being applied to, repeated the very same answer with which they had been so much disinayed by the senate. The Ætolians, thunderstruck at this, as if they had never heard it before, for they now perceived that no good was likely to arise, either from the Athenian embassy, or the mild answer of Africanus, replied, that they wished to consult their countrymen on the affair.

VII. THEY then returned to Hypata, where the council was utterly at a loss what course to take; for they had no means of paying the thousand talents: and, in case of an unconditional submission, they dreaded lest their persons might be subjected to severities. They, therefore, ordered the same ambassadors to return to the consul and Africanus, and to request, that if they meant, in reality, to grant them peace, and not merely to amuse them with a prospect of it, frustrating the hopes of the wretched, they would either remit some part of the money required to be paid, or order that their persons might be exempted in the terms of the surrender. The consul could not be prevailed on to make any change; and that embassy, also, was dismissed without effect. The Athenian ambassadors accompanied them, and Echedemus, the principal of those ambassadors, while the Ætolians, after so many repulses, were sunk into total dejection, and deplored, with unavailing lamentations, the hard fate of their nation, revived once more their hopes, by advising them to request a suspension of arms for six months, in order that they might send ambassadors to Rome. He urged, that "the delay could add nothing to their present calamities, which were already severe in the extreme; but that, if time were gained, many fortuitous events might occur, and might lighten the distresses they then laboured under." Agreeably to this advice of Echedemus, the same ambassadors were sent again; who, making their first application to Publius Scipio, obtained, through him, from the consul, a suspension of arms, for the time they desired. The siege of Amphissa was then raised; Marcus Acilius gave up the command of the army to the consul, and left the province, and the consul returned from Amphissa into Thessaly, with intention to pass, through Macedonia and Thrace, into Asia. Here, Africanus said to his brother, Lucius Scipio, "I agree with you in approving the route which

"you

BOOK " you have chosen. But the whole matter rests on
 XXXVII. " the inclinations of Philip; for, if he is faithful to
 Y.R. 364. " our government, he will afford us a passage, and
 B.C. 190. " provisions, and every thing requisite to the main-
 " tenance and convenience of an army on a long
 " march. But if he should fail you, you will find
 " no safety in any part of Thrace. In my opinion,
 " therefore, the king's disposition ought, in the first
 " place, to be discovered; and the best method to dis-
 " cover it will be, to let the person sent for that pur-
 " pose come to him unexpectedly, and see how he
 " is employed when not expecting any such visit."
 They chose, for this purpose, Tiberius Sempromius
 Gracchus, a young man remarkable for his activity,
 beyond all the youth of the time; by means of re-
 lays of horses, travelling with almost incredible ex-
 pedition, he made good the journey from Amphissa,
 whence he was dispatched, to Pella, on the third
 day. The king was sitting at a banquet, and had
 drank freely of wine; which circumstance, of his in-
 indulging such relaxation of mind, removed all sus-
 picion of any intention of changing his measures.
 His guest was, for the present, kindly entertained;
 and, next day, he saw plenty of provisions, already
 prepared for the army, bridges made over rivers,
 and roads formed where the ground was difficult to
 be passed. As he was bringing back this intelligence,
 with the same speed which he had used in coming,
 he met the consul at Thaumaci. The army, in high
 spirits, at finding their hopes thus confirmed and
 augmented, advanced into Macedonia, where every
 thing was ready for their accommodation. On their
 arrival, the king received them with royal magnifi-
 cence, and accompanied them on their march. He
 shewed a great deal of pleasantry and good humour,
 which recommended him much to Africanus, who,
 with all the extraordinary endowments that he pos-
 sessed, was not averse to mirth, when confined within
 the bounds of decency. Philip then escorted them,

not only through Macedonia, but through Thrace also; furnishing them with every accommodation, until they arrived at the Hellespont.

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VIII. ANTIOCHUS, after the sea-fight at Corycus, being left at liberty, during the whole winter, to carry on his preparations, by land and sea, employed his principal attention on the refitting of his fleet, lest he should be entirely excluded from the sea. He reflected that "he had been defeated, when the Rhodian fleet was absent; but if that fleet were present in an engagement, (and the Rhodians would certainly take care not to be dilatory a second time,) he required a vast number of ships to set him on an equality with the fleet of the enemy, considering the strength and size of their vessels." For this reason, he sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring the ships of the Phœnicians, and gave orders to Polyxenidas, that, the more unsuccessful he had been before, the more diligence he should now exert, in repairing the ships which he had, and procuring others. He himself spent the winter in Phrygia, calling in auxiliaries, from every quarter. He even sent for that purpose to Gallogræcia. The people of that country were, then, more warlike, than at present, retaining the Gallic spirit, as the generation which had emigrated thither was not yet extinct. He left his son Seleucus with an army in Ætolia, to keep in obedience the maritime cities, which were solicited to revolt, on one side, by Eumenes, from Pergamus; on the other, by the Romans, from Phocæa and Erythræ. The Roman fleet, as mentioned before, wintered at Canæ: thither, about the middle of the winter, came king Eumenes, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse. He affirmed, that vast quantities of spoil might be brought off from the enemy's country round Thyatira; and, by his persuasions, prevailed on Livius to

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send with him five thousand soldiers. This party, within a few days, carried off an immense booty.

IX. MEANWHILE, a sedition broke out at Phœcæa, in consequence of the endeavours, used by some, to bring over the multitude to the party of Antiochus. The people were distressed by the ships wintering there: they were distressed by a tax imposed, for they were ordered to furnish five hundred gowns and five hundred tunicks; and they were farther distressed by a scarcity of corn, which obliged the Roman garrison and ships to leave the place. The faction, which laboured in their assemblies to draw the commonalty over to Antiochus, was now freed from all apprehension: the senate, and higher ranks, were disposed to adhere to the alliance with Rome, but the advisers of a revolt had greater influence with the multitude. The Rhodians, sensible of having been too tardy the year before, were therefore the earlier in their proceedings now; and, at the vernal equinox, they sent the same Pausistratus, commander of the fleet, with thirty-six ships. At this time, Livius, with thirty ships, and seven quadriremes, which king Eumenes had brought with him, was on his passage from Canæ to the Hellespont, in order to prepare every thing necessary for the transportation of the army, which he expected to come by land. He first put into the harbour, called the Achæan; whence, going up to Ilium, he offered sacrifice to Minerva, and gave a kind reception to several embassies from the states in the neighbourhood: from Elæus, Dardanus, and Rhetæum, who came to surrender their respective states to him. Then he sailed to the entrance of the Hellespont; and, leaving ten ships stationed opposite to Abydus, he crossed over to Europe, with the rest of the fleet, to attack Seftos. As the troops were advancing up to the walls, they were met, first, by a number of
the

the priests of Cybele *, using extravagant gestures, and clad in the dress worn in their solemn processions. These said, that, "by order of the Mother of the Gods, they, the immediate servants of the goddess, were come to pray the Roman commander to spare the walls and the city." No violence was offered to any of them; and, presently, the whole senate, and the magistrates, came out to surrender the city. The fleet then sailed over to Abydus; where, on sounding the temper of the inhabitants, in conferences, and finding no disposition to peaceful measures, they prepared themselves for a siege.

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X. WHILE these transactions passed at the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, the commander of the king's fleet, an exile from Rhodes, having heard that the fleet of his countrymen had sailed from home, and that Pausistratus, who commanded them, had, in a public speech, uttered several haughty and contemptuous expressions respecting him, conceived the most violent jealousy against him in particular, and studied nothing else, night or day, but how, by deeds, to refute his arrogant words. He sent a person, who was known to him, to tell him, that, "if allowed, he was ready to perform an eminent service to Pausistratus, and to his native country: and that Pausistratus might restore him to his country." Pausistratus, in surprise, asked by what means such things could be effected; and, at the other's request, pledged his faith, that he would either concur in the execution of the design, or bury it in silence. The emissary then told him, that "Polyxenidas would deliver into his hands, either the whole of the king's fleet, or the greater part of it; and that, in return for so great a service, he stipulated for nothing more, than being allowed to return to his

* Called Galli, and Corybantes.

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" native country." The proposal was of such magnitude, as made him neither implicitly credit, nor at once reject it. He sailed to Panormus, in the Samian territory, and halted there, in order to examine thoroughly the business proposed to him. Several messengers passed between them; nor was Pausistratus satisfied of the other's sincerity; until, in the presence of his messenger, Polyxenidas wrote, with his own hand, an engagement, that he would perform all that he had promised, and sent the tablets sealed with his own seal. By such a pledge as this, he thought he had acquired a kind of absolute dominion over the plotter; for that " he who lived under a king would never act so absurdly, " as to give evidence of guilt against himself, attested by his own signature." The method of conducting the pretended plot was then settled: Polyxenidas said, that " he would neglect every kind of preparation; that he would not keep, in the ships, any considerable numbers, either of rowers or mariners; that he would haul up, on land, some of the ships, under pretence of rebitting them; would send away others into the neighbouring ports, and keep a few at sea before the harbour of Ephesus; which, if circumstances made it necessary to come out, he would expose to a battle." The negligence, which Pausistratus was told Polyxenidas would use in his fleet, he himself immediately practised. Part of his ships he sent to Halicarnassus to bring provisions, another part to the city of Samos, and he himself waited at Panormus, that he might be ready to make an attack, when he should receive the signal from the traitor. Polyxenidas continued to encourage his mistake by counterfeiting neglect, hauled up some ships, and, as if he intended to haul up others, put the docks in repair; he did not call the rowers from their winter-quarters to Ephesus, but assembled them secretly at Magnesia.

XI. It happened, that one of Antiochus's soldiers, having come to Samos on some business of his own, was seized as a spy, and brought to Panormus to Pausistratus. This man, moved either by fear or treachery towards his countrymen, on being asked, what was doing at Ephesus, laid open every particular: that the fleet lay in harbour, fully equipped, and ready for sea; that all the rowers had been sent to Magnesia; that very few of the ships had been hauled on land; that the docks were shut, and that never was greater diligence employed in conducting the business of the fleet. But the mind of Pausistratus was so prepossessed, by misplaced confidence, and vain hopes, that he gave no credit to this account. Polyxenidas, having fully adjusted all his measures, called in the rowers from Magnesia, launched hastily the ships that were in dock, and letting the next day pass, not so much because he had any preparations to make, as because he was unwilling that the fleet should be seen going to sea, set sail, after sun-set, with seventy decked ships, and, the wind being contrary, put into the harbour of Pygela before day appeared. After lying by there, during the day, for the same reason as before, he passed over, in the night, to the nearest part of the Samian territory. From this place, he detached one Nicander, an archpirate, at the head of a squadron of five decked ships, with orders to sail to Palinurus, and thence to lead his armed men, by the shortest road, through the fields toward Panormus, and so to come behind the enemy. In the mean time, he himself, with his fleet in two divisions, in order that it might command the mouth of the harbour on both sides, proceeded to Panormus. This event, so utterly unexpected, at first, confounded Pausistratus; but, being an experienced warrior, he quickly recollected his spirits, and judging that it would be easier to repel the enemy from the land, than on sea, he marched his armed forces, in two

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bodies, to the promontories, which, by their heads projecting into the deep, formed the harbour; for he thought that he should be able, here, with ease, to drive off the enemy, by the discharges of weapons from both sides. The sight of Nicander on the land quite disconcerted this design; he, therefore, suddenly changed his plan, and ordered all to go on board the ships. This produced the greatest dismay and confusion, among both soldiers and sailors, who, seeing themselves inclosed by the enemy, on land and sea at once, hurried on board like men running away. The only method of saving the fleet, that occurred to Pausistratus, was, to force through the narrow entrance of the harbour, and push out into the open sea; and, as soon as he saw his men embarked, ordering the rest to follow, he himself led the way, and, with the utmost exertions of his oars, pressed to the mouth of the harbour. Just as his ship was clearing the entrance, Polyxenidas, with three quinquereines, surrounded it. The vessel, shattered by their beaks, sunk; the crew were overwhelmed with weapons, and, among them, Pausistratus, fighting gallantly, was slain. Of the rest of the ships, some were taken outside the harbour, some within, and others by Nicander, while they were putting off from the shore. Only five Rhodian, and two Coan ships, effected an escape; making a passage for themselves through the thick of the enemy, by the terror of blazing flames; for they carried before them, on two poles projecting from their prows, a great quantity of fire contained in iron vessels. Some Erythraean triremes, which were coming to their assistance, met the Rhodian ships flying, not far from Samos, and therefore steered away to the Hellespont to join the Romans. About the same time, Seleucus got possession of Phocæa, which was betrayed to him by the guards admitting him into one of the gates; and Cyme, with the other cities on that coast, were induced by their fears to join him.

XII. DURING these transactions in Æolia, Abydus endured a siege of several days, a garrison of the king's troops defending the walls; but then, all growing weary, and Philotas himself, the commander of the garrison, giving his permission, the magistrates entered into treaty with Livius, about the terms of a capitulation. The business was protracted for some time, as they could not agree whether the king's troops should march out with their arms, or without them. While this negotiation was depending, news arrived of the defeat of the Rhodians; in consequence of which, the whole business was dropped, when on the point of being concluded. For Livius, fearing lest Polyxenidas, elated by his recent success in such an important enterprise, might surprise the fleet which lay at Canæ, instantly abandoned the siege of Abydus, and the guard of the Hellespont, and drew out the ships that were in dock at Canæ. Eumenes came, at this time, to Elea. Livius, with the whole fleet, which had been joined by two triremes of Mitylene, sailed to Phocæa; but, having learned that this place was held by a strong garrison of the king's troops, and that Seleucus was encamped, at no great distance, he ravaged the sea-coast, hastily conveying on board the booty, which consisted chiefly of men, and waiting only until Eumenes, with his fleet, came up, bent his course to Samos. Among the Rhodians, the news of their misfortune excited, at first, both consternation, and the greatest grief, at the same time. For, besides the loss of their ships and soldiers, the whole flower of their youth had perished, many young men of distinction having embarked in the expedition, led, among other motives, principally, by the character of Pausistratus, which was, deservedly, very high among his countrymen. Afterwards, when they reflected, that they had been circumvented by treachery, and that, of all men, a countryman of their own had been the perpetrator,

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their grief was converted into anger. Immediately, they sent out ten ships, and, in a few days, ten more, giving the command of the whole to Eudamus; who, though far inferior to Pauisistratus, in other warlike qualifications, would yet, they supposed, prove a more cautious leader, as he was not of so high a spirit. The Romans, and king Eumenes, put in, with their fleet, first, at Erythræa; and, staying there one night, they, next day, reached Corycus, a promontory in Teios. They intended to pass over, hence, to the nearest part of the Samian territory; but, not waiting for the rising of the sun, from which the pilots could learn the state of the weather, they exposed themselves to a storm, which deprived them of the power of directing their course. About the middle of the passage, the wind changed from north-east to north, and they found themselves tossed about on the sea, which rolled in very tremendous billows.

XIII. POLYXENIDAS, taking it for granted that the enemy would go to Samos to join the Rhodian fleet, set sail from Ephesus, and halted, first, at Myonnesus, from whence he crossed over to the island of Macris; in order that, when the enemy's fleet should sail by, he might attack, with advantage, either any ships that straggled from the main body, or the rear of the fleet itself. When he saw their fleet dispersed by the storm, he thought this a good opportunity to attack it; but, in a little time, the wind increased, and raised the waves to such a height, that he could not possibly come up with them: he therefore steered to the island of Æthalia, that, from thence, he might, next day, fall on the ships, as they made for Samos, from the main sea. A small number of the Roman ships, just as it grew dark, got into a desert harbour on the Samian coast; and the rest of the fleet, after being tossed about all night, ran into the same harbour in the morning. Having learned

learned here, from the country people, that the enemy's fleet lay at Æthalia, they held a consultation whether they should attack them immediately, or wait for the Rhodian fleet. Their determination was to postpone the attack, and they sailed away to Corycus, whence they had come. Polyxenidas, also, having kept his station for some time, without effecting any thing, sailed home to Ephesus. On this, the Roman ships, having the sea now clear of the enemy, sailed to Samos; where, a few days after, they were joined by the fleet from Rhodes; and, to shew that they had only waited for this, they immediately sailed away to Ephesus, resolved either to fight the enemy's fleet, or, in case they should decline a battle, to extort from them a confession of fear, which would have the best effect on the minds of the states of Asia. They lay, for some time, opposite to the entrance of the harbour, with the fleet formed in a line abreast, but none came out against them; on which they divided the fleet; and while one part lay at anchor, before the mouth of the harbour, the other landed a body of soldiers. These spread depredations over a great extent of the country, and, as they were conveying to the ships the great booty which they had seized, Andronichus, a Macedonian, who was in garrison at Ephesus, sallied out on them, when they came near the walls, stripped them of the greatest part of the booty, and drove them down to the shore to their ships. On the day following, the Romans laid an ambuscade about the middle of the way, and marched in a body to the city, in order to entice the Macedonian out of the gates; but a suspicion of their real intention deterred them from coming out, and they returned back to their ships. As the enemy thus avoided fighting, either on land or sea, the fleet sailed back to Samos, whence it came. The prætor, then, detached two Rhodian triremes, and two belonging to the Italian allies, under the command of Epicrates,

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Epicrates, a Rhodian, to guard the strait of Cephallenia, which was infested with piracies by Hybristas, a Lacedæmonian, at the head of a band of young Cephallenians, so that the passage was shut against the convoys from Italy.

XIV. EPICRATES met, at Piræus, Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who was on his way to take the command of the fleet. On hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, as he had only two quinqueremes, he carried back with him, to Asia, Epicrates and his four ships. He was attended also by some undocked ships of the Athenians. He crossed the Ægean sea to Chios, to which place came, in the middle of the night, Timasiorates, a Rhodian, with two quadriremes from Samos, and, being presented to Æmilius, he told him, that he was sent for the purpose of convoying him in safety, because the king's ships, by frequent excursions from the Hellespont and Abydus, rendered the sea on that coast dangerous to transport vessels. In his passage, from Chios to Samos, Æmilius was met by two Rhodian quadriremes, sent by Livius to attend him, and by king Eumenes with two quinqueremes. On his arrival at Samos, as soon as he had received the command of the fleet from Livius, and duly performed the usual sacrifices, he called a council. Here, Caius Livius, whose opinion was first asked, said, that "no one
" could give advice, with more sincerity, than he,
" who recommended to another, what he himself
" would do, in the same case. That his intention
" had been, to have sailed with the whole fleet to
" Ephesus; to have taken with him ships of burden, heavily laden with ballast, and to have sunk
" them in the entrance of the harbour. That the
" passage might be shut up, in this manner, with
" little difficulty; because the mouth of the harbour
" was like a river, long and narrow, and full of
" shoals. By this expedient, he would have cut off
" the

"the enemy's communication with the sea, and rendered their fleet useless."

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XV. This plan was not approved by any of the council. King Eumenes asked, "whether, when, by sinking the ships, they should have barred the pass to the sea, their own fleet would be at liberty to go away, and succour their allies, and infuse terror into their enemies; or whether they might not, nevertheless, be obliged to block up the port, with their whole fleet? For, if they should withdraw, who could doubt that the enemy would weigh up the hulks that were sunk, and open the port with less labour than it had cost to shut it? But if, after all, they were to remain there, what advantage would accrue from the harbour being closed up? Nay, on the contrary, the enemy enjoying a safe harbour and an opulent city, and, furnished with every thing, from Asia, would pass the summer at their ease, while the Romans, exposed in the open sea to winds and waves, and in want of every accommodation, must continue on guard, without intermission; and might more properly be said to be, themselves, tied down, and hindered from doing any thing that ought to be done, than to keep the enemy shut up." Eudamus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, rather shewed his disapprobation of the plan proposed, than recommended any himself. Epictates, the Rhodian, advised, "not to think of Ephesus for the present, but to send a part of the fleet to Lycia, and bring Patara, the metropolis of that nation, into a treaty of alliance. This would conduce to two important purposes; first, the Rhodians, by peace being established, in the countries opposite to their island, would be at liberty to apply the whole of their strength to the war against Antiochus; and then, the fleet, which the enemy were fitting out in Lycia, would be blocked up, and prevented

" from

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"from joining Polyxenidas." This plan was the most approved of. Nevertheless, it was determined, that Regillus should sail, with the entire fleet, to the harbour of Ephesus, to strike terror into the enemy.

XVI. CAIUS LIVIUS was sent to Lycia, with two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes, and two open vessels of Smyrna; and was ordered to go, first, to Rhodes, and to communicate all his designs to the government there. The states, which he passed in his way, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cous, cheerfully obeyed his orders. When he came to Rhodes, he explained, to the persons in authority, the business on which he was sent, and, at the same time, desired their opinion. They all approved the design; and they gave him three quadriremes, in addition to the fleet which he had; and, with these he set sail for Patara. The wind being favourable, at first, carried them very near the city, and they were in hopes that they might effect something, by a sudden alarm, when the wind changed, and began to roll the waves in various directions. However, by dint of rowing, they reached the land, but there was no safe anchorage near the city, nor could they ride in the road, before the enemy's harbour, as the sea was so rough, and night was coming on. They therefore sailed past the city, to the port of Phellus, which was not quite two miles distant, and which afforded shelter to the ships from the violence of the sea, but was overlooked by high cliffs; and these the townspeople, joined by the king's troops in garrison there, immediately seized. Livius, though the landing-place was rugged and difficult, sent against them a party of the auxiliaries, composed of Iſſæans, and light-infantry of Smyrna. These, as long as the business was carried on with missile weapons, and in slight attacks on the few who were there at first, and

was

was rather a skirmish than a battle, supported the contest sufficiently well. But greater numbers flocked thither from the city, and, at length, the whole multitude poured out, which made Livius fear, not only, that the auxiliaries might be cut off, but that the ships would be in danger lying so near the land. He therefore led out to the engagement, not only the soldiers, but the marines, and even the crowd of rowers, armed with such weapons as each could find. After all this, the fight was doubtful, and, besides a considerable number of soldiers, Lucius Apustius fell in this disorderly combat. At last, however, the Lycians were routed, and driven into the city; and the Romans, victorious, but not without loss of blood, returned to their ships. They then proceeded to the gulf of Teloneffus, which washes Caria on one side, and Lycia on the other, where all thoughts of any farther attempt on Patara were laid aside, the Rhodians were sent home, and Livius, sailing along the coast of Asia, crossed over to Greece, that he might have a meeting with the Scipios, who were, at that time, in Thessaly, and then take his passage to Italy.

XVII. WHEN Æmilius understood that the expedition to Lycia was dropped, and that Livius had gone to Italy; although he himself had been driven off from Ephesus by a storm, and had returned to Samos, without effecting any purpose, yet he thought the miscarriage of the attempt on Patara too disgraceful, and resolved to go thither, with the whole fleet, and attack the city with his utmost force. Having sailed past Miletus, and the rest of the coast of the allies, he made a descent in the bay of Bargyllæ, with design to reduce Jassus. The city was held by a garrison of the king's troops, and the Romans made hostile depredations on all the country round. He then sent persons to confer with the magistrates, and principal inhabitants, and found their

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their dispositions; but, being told by them, that there was nothing in their power, he advanced to lay siege to the city. There were, with the Romans, some exiles from Jassus, who, in a body, earnestly importuned the Rhodians, "not to suffer
 " an unoffending city, which was both their neighbour, and connected with them in consanguinity,
 " to be ruined. They themselves, they said, were
 " banished for no other cause than their faithful attachment to the Romans; and those, who remained in the city, were held in subjection by
 " the same force by which they had been expelled.
 " The people of Jassus had all but one wish, to
 " escape from a state of slavery under the king."

The Rhodians, moved by their entreaties, and calling in the assistance of king Eutmenès, represented, at the same time, their own connexions with them, and also the unfortunate condition of the city, which was kept in bondage by the king's garrison; and by these means prevailed on Æmilius to drop the siege. Departing hence, and coasting along the shore of Asia, where every other place was favourably disposed, he arrived at Loryma, a port opposite to Rhodes. Here, the military tribunes, in their meetings at the Prætorium, began, at first, in private conversation, to mention their observations, which afterwards reached the ears of Æmilius himself: that the fleet was going off to a distance from Ephesus, from the war which concerned themselves; so that the enemy, being left behind, without control, might safely make whatever attempts they pleased, against so many states of the allies, in their neighbourhood. Æmilius felt the justice of these remarks, and, calling the Rhodians to him, asked them, whether the whole fleet could lie in the harbour of Patara; to which they answered in the negative. Furnished with this excuse for laying aside the design, he sailed back to Samos.

XVIII. In the mean time, Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who had kept his army in *Æolia*, through the whole of the winter, employing it, partly, in succouring his allies, partly in ravaging the lands of those whom he could not reduce to his side, resolved to make an incursion on the territory of king Eumenes, while he, at a great distance from home, was assisting the Romans and Rhodians, in attacks on the maritime parts of *Lycia*. He advanced, as an enemy, first, to *Elæa*, but soon laid aside the design of besieging it; and, having wasted the country, in a hostile manner, he led his army to lay siege to *Pergamus*, the capital, and the principal fortress of the kingdom. Attalus, at first, placing advanced guards outside the city, and sending out parties of cavalry and light-infantry, acted an offensive, rather than a defensive part. But, after some time, having discovered, in slight skirmishes, that he was not a match for the enemy, in any respect, he drew back his men within the fortifications, and then the siege was formed. About this time, Antiochus leaving *Apamea*, with a vast army compounded of various nations, encamped, first, at *Sardis*, and, afterwards, took post at a small distance from the camp of Seleucus, at the head of the river *Caicus*. The most formidable part of his force was a body of four thousand Gauls, whom he had procured for hire: these, with a few others intermixed, he detached, with orders to waste utterly the country about *Pergamus*. When news of these transactions arrived at *Samos*, Eumenes, being thus recalled by a war in his own dominions, sailed with his fleet to *Elæa*; and finding there, in readiness, some light troops of horse and foot, he took them for an escort, and proceeded directly to *Pergamus*, before the enemy could be apprised of his arrival, or take any steps to intercept him. The garrison now began again to fall out, and skirmish; but Eumenes evidently avoided risking a decisive engagement. In a few days after,

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the combined fleet of the Romans and Rhodians came from Samos to Elæa, to support the king. When Antiochus was informed that these had landed troops at Elæa, and that so many fleets were assembled in the one harbour, and, at the same time, heard that the consul, with his army, was already in Macedonia, and was making the necessary preparations for his passage over the Hellespont, he judged that now was the time to treat of peace, before he should be pressed on sea and land at once; and with this view he chose for his camp a rising ground opposite to Elæa. Leaving there all the infantry, with his cavalry, amounting to six thousand, he went down into the plains which lay under the walls of the town, having dispatched a herald to Æmilius, to acquaint him that he wished to treat of peace.

XIX. ÆMILIUS sent to Pergamus for Eumenes, and, desiring the Rhodians to be present, held a council on the message. The Rhodians were not averse to a pacification; but Eumenes affirmed, that "they could not, with honour, treat of peace, at such a juncture; nor could a business of the kind be concluded. For," said he, "how can we, shut up as we are, within our walls, and besieged, with honour accept terms of peace? Or who will deem a treaty of peace valid, which we shall conclude, without the presence of the consul, without a vote of the senate, and without an order of the Roman people? For, let me ask, supposing a treaty of peace concluded by you, would you immediately go home to Italy, and carry away your fleet and army, or would you wait to know the consul's determination on the case; what the senate should decree, or the people order? It is plain then, that you must stay in Asia, that your troops must be led back to the quarters, where they wintered, and, without having any thing to do against the enemy, exhaust the allies by their
"con-

“ consumption of provisions; and then, if it seem
 “ fit to those, who have the power of determining,
 “ we must begin the whole war anew. Whereas,
 “ if the present vigorous proceedings suffer no ob-
 “ struction from delay, we may, with the will of the
 “ gods, bring it to a conclusion before the winter.”
 His opinion was approved; and the answer given
 to Antiochus was, that no treaty of peace could be
 admitted before the arrival of the consul. Antio-
 chus, frustrated in this scheme for putting an end to
 the war, ravaged, first, the country of Elæa, then
 that of Pergamus; and, leaving there his son Seleu-
 cus, marched, in a hostile manner, to Adramytteum,
 whence he proceeded to an opulent tract of country
 called the Plain of Thebes, a city celebrated in one
 of Homer's poems; and in no other place in Asia
 did the king's soldiers find such a plenty of booty.
 Æmilius and Eumenes also, sailing round with the
 fleet, came to Adramytteum, to protect the city.

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XX. It happened, just at this time, that ten thou-
 sand foot and one hundred horse, all under the com-
 mand of Diophanes, arrived from Achaia at Elæa,
 who, on landing, were conducted, in the night, into
 Pergamus, by persons sent, for the purpose, by At-
 talus. They were all veterans, and well skilled in
 war; and their commander was a disciple of Philo-
 pæmen's, the most consummate general, among the
 Greeks, in that age. They set apart two days to
 give rest to the men and horses, and, at the same
 time, to view the posts of the enemy, and to learn
 at what places, and what times, they advanced and
 retired. The king's troops, generally, approached
 to the foot of the hill, on which the town stands, so
 that their detachments could plunder all the country
 behind, at will, for not a man ever sallied out, even
 to throw darts, from a distance, against their guards.
 When the garrison once became so dispirited as to
 confine themselves within the walls, the king's troops

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conceived a great contempt of them; and, thence, fell into a carelessness on their part. The greater number did not keep their horses either saddled or bridled; but few remained under arms, and in the ranks; the rest, slipping away, scattered themselves all over the plain, some diverting themselves with youthful sports and tricks, others eating in the shade, and some even stretched on the ground asleep. When Diophanes observed all these particulars, which the high situation of Pergamus enabled him to do fully, he ordered his men to take arms, and to be ready at a particular gate. He himself went to Attalus, and told him that he had a mind to try his fortune against the enemy's advanced guards. Attalus gave consent, but not without reluctance; as he saw that one hundred horse must fight against three hundred, and one thousand foot against four thousand. Diophanes then marched out of the gate, and took post at a small distance from the enemy's guard, waiting his opportunity. On one side, the people in Pergamus thought that he was actuated by madness, rather than by courage; and, on the other, the enemy, after observing his party for a short time, and seeing no movement among them, were not in any degree roused from their usual carelessness, but even ridiculed the smallness of the number. Diophanes, for a long time, kept his men quiet, as if he had brought them out merely for the purpose of looking about them; but, as soon as he perceived that the enemy had quitted their ranks, ordering the infantry to follow, as fast as they could, he himself, with his own troop, led the way at the head of the cavalry, and pushing on, with all possible speed, made a sudden charge on the enemy's party, while a shout was raised by every horseman and footman at once. Not the men only were terrified, but the horses also, inso-

much that they broke their collars, and caused great confusion and tumult among the troops. A few of the horses stood unaffrighted; but even these, the
men

men could not easily either saddle, or bridle, or mount; for the Achæans struck much greater terror than could be supposed occasioned by so small a party of horse. But now the infantry, in due order and preparation, assailed the enemy, dispersed through their own negligence, and almost half asleep; and slaughter and flight ensued in every part of the plain. Diophanes pursued the runaways as far as he could with safety, and then returned into garrison in the city, after acquiring very great honour to the Achæan nation; for the whole transaction had been seen from the walls of Pergamus, by the men, and even by the women.

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XXI. Next day, the enemy's guard, in more regular and orderly condition, pitched their camp five hundred paces farther from the city, and the Achæans marched out at nearly the same hour as before, and to the same place. During many hours, both parties stood, attentively watching each other, in continual expectation of an immediate attack. At the approach of sunset, the usual time of their returning to the main camp, the king's troops, forming together in a body, better adapted to a march than to a fight, began to retire. Diophanes did not stir until they were out of sight; and then he rushed on their rear guard with the same furious vehemence as before, and again excited such dismay and confusion, that, though the hindmost were put to the sword, not one of them halted, or thought of fighting; so that they were driven into their camp in confusion, and scarcely observing any order in their march. These daring exertions of the Achæans obliged Seleucus to decamp, and quit the territory of Pergamus. Antiochus, having learned that the Romans and Eumenes were come to protect Adramytteum, made no attempt on that city, but ravaged the country adjoining. He, afterwards, reduced Peræa, a colony of Mityleneans; also Cotton,

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Corylenus, Aphrodisias, and Crene, were all taken at the first assault. He then returned through Thyatira to Sardis. Seleucus remained on the sea-coast, keeping the favourers of one party in fear, and protecting those of the other. The Roman fleet, with Eumenes and the Rhodians, retired, first, to Mitylene, and thence to Elæa, whence they had set out. On their way to Phocæa they put in at an island called Bachiæ, near the city of Phocæa; and, though they had formerly spared the temples and statues, with which kind of decorations the island abounded in an extraordinary degree, yet they now pillaged them all, in a hostile manner, and then passed over to the city. They commenced the attack of it on three different sides, according to a plan concerted; but soon perceiving that it could not be taken by scalade and assault, without regular works, and learning that a reinforcement of three thousand soldiers, sent by Antiochus, had got into the city, they immediately broke up the siege, and the fleet retired to the island, without having effected any thing more than the devastation of the enemy's country in the neighbourhood.

XXII. HERE it was resolved that Eumenes should return home, and make every necessary preparation for the passage of the consul, and his army, over the Hellespont; and that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should sail back to Samos, and remain stationed there, to prevent any attempt being made by Polyxenidas. Accordingly, the king returned to Elæa, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos. There, Marcus Æmilius, brother to the prætor, died. When his obsequies were performed, the Rhodians, on a report that a fleet was on its way from Syria, sailed away, with thirteen of their own ships, one Coan, and one Cnidian quinquereme, to Rhodes; where they were to remain stationed. Two days before the arrival of Eudamus, and the fleet, from Samos, another

another fleet of thirteen ships, under the command of Pamphilidas, had been sent out against the same Syrian fleet, and taking with them four ships, which were stationed to protect Caria, they relieved Dædala, and several other fortresses of Peræa, which were besieged by the king's troops. It was determined that Eudamus should put to sea directly, and an addition of six undecked ships was made to the fleet which he had. He accordingly set sail; and, using all possible expedition, overtook the first fleet at a port called Megiste, from whence they proceeded, in one body, to Phaselis, and resolved to wait there for the enemy.

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XXIII. PHASELIS stands on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia; it projects far into the sea, and is the first land upon which vessels coming from Cilicia to Rhodes are obliged to anchor. Hence, ships can be seen at a great distance. At this season, chiefly, they chose this place, as they might lie directly in the way of the enemy's fleet. But an event took place, which they did not foresee; for, in consequence of the unwholesomeness of the place, of the season of the year, it being now the middle of summer, and, also, of an unusual kind of stench, diseases began to spread with violence, particularly among the rowers. The fear of this pestilential malady made them quit the place; and, as they sailed by the Pamphylian bay, they put into port at the river Eurymedon, where they learned, from the people of Aspendæ, that the enemy were then at Sida. The king's fleet had been the slower in its passage, by reason of the unfavourable winds, called the Etesian; that being the season when the wind blows periodically from the north-west. The Rhodians had thirty-two quadriremes, and four triremes. In the king's fleet were thirty-seven ships of the larger rates; among which were three of seven, and four of six banks of oars; and besides these, ten triremes. On their side, they

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discovered, from an eminence, the approach of the enemy. Wherefore, both fleets, at the dawn of the next day, moved out of port, as resolved to come to an immediate engagement; and, as soon as the Rhodians passed the promontory, that stretcheth into the deep from Sida, they descried the enemy, and were descried by them. The left squadron of the king's fleet, which was on the outside next the main sea, was commanded by Hannibal, the right by Apollonius, one of the nobles, and they had their ships already formed in a line ahead. The Rhodians approached in a long line, ahead, also, Eudamus, in the commander's ship, led the van; Chariclitus brought up the rear; and Pamphilidas commanded the centre division. When Eudamus saw the enemy's line formed, and ready for battle, he pushed out towards the main, and ordered the ships that followed, to form, regularly, as they came up, in a line of battle ahead. This caused some confusion, at first; for he had not stretched out to the main far enough to give room for all the ships to come into a line between him and the land, and he himself was so impatient, as, with only five ships, to engage, too hastily, with Hannibal; while the rest, having received orders to form their line, did not come up. The rear division had no room left for it, next to the land, and, while they were in disorder among themselves, the fight was already begun, on the right, against Hannibal,

XXIV. But the goodness of their ships, and the expertness of their men in nautical business, quickly freed the Rhodians from all embarrassment: for the ships pushed out, hastily, towards the main; by which means each made room, next the land, for the one immediately behind; and when any made a stroke with its beak against a ship of the enemy, it either shattered its prow, or swept off its oars; or, passing by it, in the clear space between the vessels, made

made an attack on its stern. One of the king's seven banked ships, being sunk, with one stroke, by a Rhodian vessel of much smaller size, dispirited his fleet in a very great degree; insomuch that their right squadron gave evident indications of an intention to fly. Hannibal, in the open sea, pressed Eudamus hard, by means, chiefly, of his superior number of ships; for, in every other respect, Eudamus had greatly the advantage: and he would have surrounded and overpowered him, had not the signal, for a dispersed fleet collecting together again, been displayed from the commander's ship. On which, all the ships which had been victorious in the left squadron, hastened up to succour their friends. This made Hannibal himself, and the ships of his division, betake themselves to flight; and the Rhodians could not pursue, because their rowers, being most of them sick, were, therefore, the sooner wearied. While they halted in the open sea, and refreshed themselves with food, Eudamus, observing the enemy towing, by the open vessels, their damaged and crippled ships, and a few more than twenty going off undamaged, commanded silence, from the castle of the commander's ship, and then called out, "Arise, and feast your eyes with an extraordinary sight." They all started up, and, perceiving the disorderly flight of the enemy, cried out, almost with one voice, that they ought to pursue. Eudamus's own ship was bulged in many places; he, therefore, ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus to pursue as far as they should think it safe. They, accordingly, pursued for a considerable time; but, seeing Hannibal make in close to the land, fearing to be wind-bound on an enemy's coast, they steered back to Eudamus, and, with difficulty, towed to Phaselis a captured seven banked ship, which had been damaged in the beginning of the engagement. They then sailed home to Rhodes, not so much exulting in their victory, as blaming one another, for not, when it was

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in their power, having sunk or taken the whole of the enemy's fleet. Hannibal was so disheartened by the loss of this one battle, that, notwithstanding the enemy's departure, he durst not sail along the coast of Lycia, though he wished to join the king's main fleet, as soon as possible. That he might not effect this junction without opposition, the Rhodians sent Chariclitus, with twenty ships, to Patara, and the harbour of Megiste. They, then, ordered Eudamus, with seven of the largest ships, out of the fleet which he had commanded, to rejoin the Romans at Samos, and to endeavour, by every argument, and by all his influence, to prevail on the Romans to besiege Patara.

XXV. GREAT was the joy felt by the Romans; first, on receiving the news of the victory, and, afterwards, on the arrival of the Rhodians: and there was abundant reason to believe, that, if the Rhodians were freed from care, on that side, they would, when thus exempted from other avocations, render the seas in that part of the world safe. But, as Antiochus had marched out of Sardis, they could not allow them to quit the guard of Ionia and Æolia, lest the maritime cities should be crushed under his arms. However, they sent Pamphilidas, with four decked ships, to join the fleet which was at Patara. Antiochus not only collected aids from the circumjacent states, but, also, sent ambassadors to Prusias, king of Bithynia, with a letter, in which he represented, in strong colours, the evil designs of the Romans in coming into Asia. "They were coming," he said, "with intention to abolish all kingly governments; so that there should be no empire in any part of the world. They had already reduced Philip and Nabis; and they were now, in the third place, falling on him. Thus the conflagration would spread, without interruption, from one to another, as each lay nearest to the one last ruined, until

“ until it enveloped them all. From him, there
 “ was but one step to Bithynia, now that Eumenes
 “ had submitted to voluntary servitude.” This letter made a strong impression on Prusias; but he was convinced of the groundlessness of such a suspicion by a letter from the consul, Scipio; and still more effectually, by one from his brother Africanus, who, besides urging the invariable practice of the Roman people, of augmenting, by every honourable addition, the grandeur of kings in alliance with them, demonstrated, by instances taken from his own family, that it was the interest of Prusias to court their friendship. “ The petty chieftains in Spain,” he said, “ whom he had received into alliance, he had left kings. Masinissa he had not only re-established in his father’s kingdom, but had put him in possession of that of Syphax, by whom he had been formerly dethroned. And he was, at the present, not only by far the most powerful of all the kings in Africa, but equal, both in dignity and strength, to any king in any part of the world. Philip and Nabis, avowed enemies, were conquered in war by Titus Quintius; nevertheless, they were left in possession of their kingdoms. Philip even had the tribute remitted to him last year, and his son, who was an hostage, restored; and, through the indulgence of the Roman commanders, had got possession of several states beyond the boundaries of Macedonia. As to Nabis, he might have remained in the same honourable rank, had not, first, his own madness, and, afterwards, the treachery of the Ætolians, brought him to ruin.” But what contributed, more than all, to fix the king’s resolution, was, Caius Livius, who had before commanded the fleet, as prætor, coming to him ambassador from Rome, and demonstrating how much better reason the Romans had to expect success than Antiochus; and how much more scrupulously,

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BOOK XXXVII. pulously, and constantly, they would maintain a friendship once formed.

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XXVI. ANTIOCHUS, having lost all hopes of an alliance with Prusias, went from Sardis to Ephesus, to review the fleet, which was fitted out, and lay there ready, for several months past; to which he now gave attention, rather because he saw it impossible, with his land forces, to make any stand against the Roman army, and the two Scipios, its commanders, than that his naval force, by itself, had ever been successful, in any trial that he had made of it, or afforded, at this juncture, any great or well-grounded expectation. Yet there were at the time some circumstances which flattered his hopes; for he had heard, that a large portion of the Rhodian fleet was at Patara, and that king Eumenes had gone to the Hellespont, with all his ships, to meet the consul. Besides, the destruction of the Rhodian fleet at Samos, under circumstances in which it had been artfully entangled, helped to inspire some degree of confidence. Buoyed up by these considerations, he sent Polyxenidas, with orders to try, at all events, the fortune of a naval engagement; and he himself marched his land forces to Notium. This town, which belongs to Colophon, stands close to the sea, at the distance of about two miles from Old Colophon. He wished to get this city into his power, because it was so near to Ephesus that nothing could be done there, on sea or land, that was not open to the view of the Colophonians, and, through them, instantly known to the Romans; and he had no doubt that the latter, on hearing of the siege, would bring their fleet from Samos to the relief of an allied city, which would give Polyxenidas an opportunity of coming to action. He therefore laid regular siege to the city, making his approaches at the same time on the two sides next the sea; and, in both places,

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he advanced his engines and mounds to the wall, and brought up the rams under covered galleries. The Colophonians, terrified at the dangers threatening them, sent envoys to Lucius Æmilius, at Samos, imploring the protection of the prætor and people of Rome. Æmilius, thinking nothing more improbable, than that Polyxenidas, whom he had twice challenged, in vain, to fight, should ever offer him battle, was, for some time past, uneasy at lying so long inactive at Samos; and he considered it as dishonourable, that the fleet of Eumenes should assist the consul in conveying the legions into Asia, while he himself should be confined to a spot, assisting Colophon under a siege, without knowing what would be the issue. Eudamus, the Rhodian, who had before prevailed upon him to stay at Samos, when he wished to go to the Hellespont, and all the other officers, pressed him to comply, representing “how much more eligible it would be, either to relieve allies from a siege, or to vanquish, a second time, the fleet which he had vanquished before; and to drive the enemy entirely out of the sea, than to abandon allies to destruction, leave Antiochus master of Asia, by sea and land, and, deserting that share of the war which properly belonged to him, to go away to the Hellespont, when the fleet of Eumenes was sufficient.”

XXVII. THEY, accordingly, set sail from Samos in quest of provisions, their stock being consumed, and intended to pass over to Chios. That island served as a granary to the Romans, and thither all the storeships, sent from Rome, directed their course. When they had sailed round from the city, to the back of the island, which looks northward towards Chios and Erythræ, and were preparing to cross over, the prætor received a letter, informing him, that a vast quantity of corn had arrived at Chios, from Italy; but that the vessels, laden with wine, were

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were detained by storms. At the same time accounts were received, that the people of Teos had furnished large supplies of provisions to the king's fleet, and had promised five thousand vessels of wine. On this the prætor, immediately, changed his course, and steered away to Teos, resolved either to make use of the provisions prepared for the enemy, with the consent of the inhabitants, or to treat them as enemies. As the ships were making up to the land, about fifteen vessels appeared in sight near Myonnesus. The prætor, at first, thought that these belonged to the king's fleet, and sailed in pursuit of them; but it appeared, afterwards, that they were a squadron of pirates. They had ravaged the sea-coast of Chios, and were returning with booty of every kind, when, on seeing the fleet approaching from the main sea, they betook themselves to flight. They had much the advantage, both in point of swiftness, as being lighter, and constructed for the purpose, and also in being nearer the land; so that before the fleet could overtake them, they made their escape to Myonnesus; and the prætor, unacquainted with the place, followed, in expectation of forcing their ships out of the harbour. Myonnesus is a promontory between Teos and Samos. It consists of a hill rising from a pretty large base to a sharp top, in shape of an obelisk. From the land, the access to it is by a narrow path, towards the sea it is terminated by cliffs, undermined by the waves, so that, in some places, the superimpending rocks project out to the sea beyond the ships that lie at anchor. The ships not daring to approach such a place, lest they should be exposed to the weapons of the pirates, who stood above on the cliffs, waited the day to no purpose. At length, a little before night-fall, they gave over the attempt, and retired, and next day, reached Teos. Here, the prætor, after mooring his ships in the port, at the back of the city, called by the inhabitants Geræsticum, sent out
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the soldiers to ravage the country adjacent to the city.

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XXVIII. THE Teians, as these ravages passed under their eyes, sent deputies to the Roman commander, carrying fillets, and other badges of suppliants, who assured him, that their state was innocent of any hostile word or deed against the Romans. But he strongly charged them with "having assisted the enemy's fleet with provisions, and with the wine, which they had promised to Polyxenidas;" and told them, that "if they would furnish the same supplies to the Roman fleet, he would recall his troops from plundering; otherwise, they should be treated as enemies. When the deputies carried back this distressing answer, the people were summoned to an assembly, by the magistrates, to consult on the measures proper to be taken. It happened that Polyxenidas, who had sailed with the king's fleet from Colophon, having heard that the Romans had left Samos and pursued the pirates to Myonnesus; that they were ravaging the lands of the Teians, and that their fleet lay in the harbour of Geræsticum, cast anchor, just at this time, in a retired harbour of an island called Macris, opposite to Myonnesus. Lying so near, he easily discovered the motions of the enemy; and, at first, entertained strong hopes of vanquishing the Roman fleet here, in like manner as he had vanquished the Rhodian at Samos: by securing, with a proper force, both sides of the harbour's mouth. Nor was the place in its nature unlike the other: by the promontories advancing their points towards each other, the harbour is inclosed in such a manner, that two ships can scarcely go out together. Polyxenidas intended to seize this narrow pass in the night; and, while ten ships stood at each of the promontories, to attack, from the right and left, both sides of the enemy's fleet sailing out; to land the armed men out of the

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rest of the fleet, as he had done at Panormus, and so to overpower the enemy, on land and sea, at once. His plan would probably have succeeded to his wish, had not the Romans, on the Teians promising to comply with their demands, judged it more convenient for receiving the provisions, to remove the fleet into the harbour in the front of the city. It is said, also, that Eudamus, the Rhodian, had pointed out the fault of the other harbour, on occasion of two ships happening to entangle their oars together, and break them, in the narrow entrance. Among other motives, the consideration of the danger to be apprehended from the land, as Antiochus lay encamped at no great distance, inclined the prætor to remove the fleet.

XXIX. WHEN the fleet was brought round to the city, as they had not the least notion of the enemy being so near, both soldiers and sailors went on shore to divide the provisions, and the wine particularly, among the ships; when, about mid-day, a peasant happened to be brought before the prætor, who told him, that the enemy's fleet was lying at the island of Macris these two days; and that, a little while ago, some of them were observed to be in motion, as if preparing to sail. Greatly alarmed at this unexpected event, the prætor ordered the trumpets to sound, to call in such as might have straggled into the country, and sent the tribunes into the city, to hasten the soldiers and sailors on board. The confusion was not less than if the city were on fire, or taken by an enemy; some running into the city, to call out the men; others hurrying out of the city, to the ships, while the orders of the officers were confounded by irregular shouts, intermixed and heightened by the clangor of the trumpets, until at length the crowd collected at the ships. Here scarcely could each know his own ship, or make his way through the tumult; and the disorder

disorder would have been productive of much danger, on land and sea, if the commanders had not taken their different parts. *Æmilius*, in the commander's ship, sailed out, first, from the harbour into the main; where, receiving the rest as they came, he put each into its own place, so as to form a line abreast: and *Eudarnus*, with the Rhodian fleet, waited at the shore, that the men might be embarked without confusion, and that each ship, as soon as it was ready, might sail out. By these means, the foremost division formed under the eye of the prætor, and the rear was brought up by the Rhodians; and then, the whole line, in as regular order as if within sight of the enemy, advanced into the open sea. They were between *Myonnesus* and the promontory of *Corycus* when they first got sight of the enemy. The king's fleet, which was coming in a long line, with only two vessels abreast, then formed themselves in order of battle, stretching out their left division so far, as that it might go round and inclose the right of the Romans. When *Eudarnus*, who commanded in the rear, perceived that the Romans could not form an equal front, but were just on the point of being surrounded, he pushed up his ships, and they were Rhodian ships, by far the fastest sailers of any in the whole fleet; and, having filled up the deficiency in the extent of the line, he opposed his own ship to the commander's, on board of which was *Polyxenidas*.

XXX. THE whole fleets were, by this time, engaged in every part. On the side of the Romans fought eighty ships, of which twenty-two were Rhodian. The enemy's fleet consisted of eighty-eight ships, and they had of the largest rates, three of six, and two of seven banks. In the strength of the vessels, and valour of the soldiers, the Romans had, greatly, the advantage of the king's party; as had the Rhodians in the activity of their ships, the skill
of

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of the pilots, and the dexterity of the rowers: yet those that terrified the enemy most of all, were the vessels that carried fires before them; and what was the sole cause of their preservation when they were surrounded at Panormus, proved here the principal means of victory. For the king's ships, through fear of the fire in their way, turned aside to avoid encountering the enemy's prow with their own; so that they could not strike their antagonist with their beaks, but exposed the side of their own ship open to his strokes; and, if any did venture an encounter, it was immediately overspread with the fire that was poured in; and the men were more hurried and disordered by their efforts to quench the flames, than by fighting. However, the bravery of the soldiers, as is generally the case, was what chiefly availed in deciding the fate of the battle. For the Romans, having broke through the centre of the enemy's line, wheeled about and fell upon the rear of the division which was engaged with the Rhodians; and, in an instant of time, both Antiochus's centre division, and the ships surrounded on the left, were sunk. The squadron on the right, which was still entire, was terrified rather by the disaster of their friends, than any immediate danger threatening themselves; but, when they saw the others surrounded, and Polyxenidas's ship deserting its associates, and sailing away, they quickly hoisted their topsails, and betook themselves to flight, having a favourable wind for sailing to Ephesus. They lost, in that battle, forty-two ships; of which thirteen struck, and fell into the hands of the enemy; the rest were burned or sunk. Two Roman ships were so shattered that they foundered, and several were much damaged. One Rhodian vessel was taken by an extraordinary casualty: for, on its striking a Sidonian ship with its beak, its anchor, thrown out of its own ship by the force of the shock, caught fast hold of the other's prow with its fluke, as if it were a grappling iron thrown

thrown in. Great confusion ensuing, the Rhodians, who wished to disentangle themselves from the enemy, pulled back, by which means the cable of its anchor being dragged forcibly, and being, at the same time, entangled with the oars, swept off the whole set on one side, and the vessel, being thus crippled, became the prize of the very ship which it had wounded with its beak and grappled. Such was the issue of the sea-fight at Myonnesus.

XXXI. ANTIOCHUS was so terrified at this defeat, that, on finding himself driven from the sea, and therefore despairing of being able to defend distant posts, he commanded the garrison to be withdrawn from Lysimachia, lest it should be overpowered there by the Romans. This was ill-judged, as events afterwards proved. For it would have been easy for him, not only to defend Lysimachia from the first attack of the Romans, but to have protracted the siege through the whole winter; and, by prolonging the time, to have reduced the besiegers to the extremity of want; while he might, in the mean time, have tried every opportunity that offered for effecting an accommodation. But, after the defeat at sea, he not only gave up Lysimachia to the enemy, but even raised the siege of Colophon, and retired to Sardis. Here, bending all his thoughts to one single object, that of meeting the enemy in the field, he sent into Cappadocia, to Ariarathes, to request assistance, and to every other place he could, to collect forces. Æmilius Regillus, after his victory at sea, proceeded to Ephesus, drew up his ships before the harbour, and, having extorted from the enemy a final acknowledgment of their having surrendered the dominion of the sea, sailed to Chios, whither he intended to have gone from Samos, before the sea-fight happened. As soon as he had refitted, there, the ships that had been damaged in the battle, he sent off Lucius Æmilius Scaurus, with

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thirty ships, to the Hellespont, to carry over the army; and decorating the Rhodian vessels with a part of the booty, and with naval spoils, he ordered them to return home. The Rhodians spiritedly resolved to do business first. They went to assist in transporting the consul's forces, and when they had completed that service, they then returned to Rhodes. The Roman fleet sailed from Chios to Phœcæa. This city stands at the bottom of a bay, and is of an oblong shape. The wall encompasses a space of two miles and a half in length, and then contracts on both sides into a narrow wedge-like form, which place they call Lampter, or the light-house. The breadth, here, is one thousand two hundred paces, and a tongue of land stretching out hence about a mile toward the sea, divides the bay nearly in the middle, as if with a line, and, where it is connected with the main land, by a narrow isthmus, makes two very safe harbours, one on each side. The one that fronts the south is called Nauſtathmos, the station for ships, from the circumstance of its being capable of containing a vast number; the other is close to Lampter.

XXXII. THE Roman fleet, having taken possession of these harbours, where they rode in perfect safety, the prætor thought proper, before he attempted the fortifications, either by scalade or works, to send persons to sound the disposition of the magistrates and principal people in the place; but finding them obstinate, he formed two attacks, which he carried on at the same time. In the part against which one attack was directed, the houses were few, the temples of the gods occupying a great deal of the ground. In this place he first brought up his rams, and began to batter the wall and towers; and when the multitude, within, ran thither to defend that spot, the battering rams were applied in the other quarter. The walls now began to fall in both places, and, on their

their falling, the Romans made an assault, scrambling over the ruins as they fell, while others of them attempted to scale the walls that were standing; but the townsmen made such an obstinate resistance, as plainly shewed, that they had a firmer support in their arms and courage, than in the fortifications. The prætor, therefore, seeing the danger to which his men were exposed, was obliged to sound a retreat, to prevent their exposing themselves, rashly, to men now become furious through rage and despair. Although the fighting ceased, yet they did not, even then, think of rest; but all hastened, from every quarter, to strengthen the walls, and raise new ones in the place of those that had been demolished. While they were busily employed in this manner, Quintus Antonius came to them, with a message from the prætor. After blaming them for their obstinacy, he assured them, that "the Romans were more anxious than they were, themselves, to prevent the fight being carried to the ruin of the city. If they would desist from their madness, the prætor would allow them to capitulate on the same terms on which they formerly surrendered to Caius Livius." On hearing this, they desired five days time to deliberate; during which they sent to learn whether they might hope for succour from Antiochus; and having received an answer, by their deputies, that it was not in his power to relieve them, they opened their gates on the single condition of not being ill-treated. When the troops were marching into the city, and the prætor had proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the surrendered townsmen should be spared, there arose an universal clamour, that it was shameful "to suffer the Phœceans, who had never been faithful to any alliance, and had always been bitter in enmity, to escape with impunity." After which words, as if a signal had been given by the prætor, they ran, in parties, every way, to plunder the city. *Æmilius,*

BOOK at first, endeavoured to stop them; calling them
XXXVII. back, and telling them, that "towns taken by storm;
Y. R. 62. "and not such as surrendered, were to be plundered;
B. C. 190. "and that, even with regard to the former, the deter-
 "mination lay with the commander, not with the
 "soldiers." But rage and avarice were too strong
 for his authority; wherefore, dispatching heralds,
 through all parts of the city, he ordered, that all
 persons of free condition should come to him in the
 Forum, to avoid ill-treatment; and in every parti-
 cular, as far as he was able, he fulfilled his promise
 to them. He restored to them their city, their
 lands, and their own laws; and, as the winter now
 approached, he chose the harbour of Phocæa for the
 station of his fleet until spring.

XXXIII. ABOUT the same time, as the consul
 was marching along the frontiers of the Ænians and
 Maronites, he received the news of the victory over
 the king's fleet at Myonnesus; and of Lysimachia
 being evacuated by the garrison. This latter event
 gave much more satisfaction than even the success at
 sea; especially, when, arriving at that city, which
 was replenished with stores of every kind, as if pur-
 posely laid in for the reception of the army, the
 troops found comfortable accommodation, where
 they had expected extreme want and hardship, in
 besieging the place. There they halted a few days,
 to give time for the coming up of the baggage, and
 of the sick; for many, overcome by diseases, or the
 length of the march, had been left behind in all the
 forts of Thrace. When all had joined, they began
 again their march through the Chersonese, and ar-
 rived at the Hellespont; where, every thing requi-
 site for their passage having been previously got
 ready, by the care of king Eumenes, they crossed
 over, without opposition or confusion, as if to friendly
 shores, and the ships put in at several different places.
 This raised, to a high degree, the spirits of the Ro-
 mans,

mans, when they saw the passage into Asia left open to them; for they had always supposed that they could not accomplish it without a violent contest. They afterwards remained encamped, a considerable time, at the Hellespont; this happening to be the time of the festival wherein the sacred bucklers are carried about, during which it is not allowed to march. The same festival had occasioned Publius Scipio's being separated from the army; for he was bound by a duty more particularly incumbent on him, as being one of the Salian priests, and he himself caused some delay before he rejoined the army.

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XXXIV. In the mean time an ambassador came from Antiochus to the camp, Heraclides, a Byzantian, with a commission to treat of peace; and his hopes of obtaining it were greatly encouraged by the delay, and dilatory proceeding of the Romans; for he had imagined, that, as soon as they set foot in Asia, they would have advanced at full speed to the king's camp; yet he resolved not to address himself to the consul until he had first applied to Publius Scipio, having received instructions, to that purpose, from the king. Indeed his greatest expectations were from him, both because his greatness of soul, and the fullness of his glory, naturally tended to produce a placable temper; and all the world knew how he had behaved, during a flow of success, both in Spain, and afterwards in Africa, and also, more especially, because his son was then a prisoner in the power of the king. Where, and when, and by what accident, he became a prisoner, are points, like very many others, not ascertained among writers. Some say, that, in the beginning of the war, as he was going from Chalcis to Oreum, he was intercepted by some of the king's ships; others, that, after the army came into Asia, he was sent, with a troop of Fregellans, to the king's camp, to gain intelligence; that, on the cavalry sallying out against him, he retreated,

BOOK treated, and having fallen from his horse, in the
XXXVII. confusion, he was, together with two horsemen,
Y. R. 562. overpowered, and thus conducted to the king. In
B. C. 190. one particular all are agreed; that, if peace had still
 subsisted with the Romans, and likewise a personal
 friendship between the king and the Scipios, the
 young man could not have been treated and distin-
 guished with greater generosity and kindness than he
 met with. The ambassador, for these reasons, waited
 the arrival of Publius Scipio; and, as soon as he
 came, applied to the consul, requesting his permis-
 sion to lay before him the business with which he
 was charged.

XXXV. A FULL council being assembled, audi-
 ence was given to the ambassador, who said, that,
 “ notwithstanding many embassies about peace had
 “ already been sent, backwards and forwards, with-
 “ out producing any effect, yet he conceived strong
 “ hopes of obtaining it from the very circumstance
 “ of the former ambassadors having obtained no-
 “ thing. For the objects of contention in those
 “ discussions were Smyrna and Lampascus, the
 “ Trojan Alexandria, and Lyfismachia in Europe.
 “ Of these, the king had already ceded Lyfima-
 “ chia, that it might not be said that he possessed
 “ any thing in Europe; and those cities which lay
 “ in Asia he was now ready to deliver up, as well
 “ as any others, which the Romans, in considera-
 “ tion of their having joined their party, might wish
 “ to render independent of the king’s government.
 “ The king was also willing to pay to the Roman
 “ people half of the expence of the war.” These
 were the conditions of peace proposed. In the rest
 of his discourse he exhorted them to “ consider the
 “ instability of human affairs; to use with modera-
 “ tion the advantages afforded by their own situa-
 “ tion, and not to bear too hard on the situation of
 “ others; to be content with the empire of Europe:
 “ that

“ that in itself was immense. It was an easier mat-
 “ ter to make acquisitions, one after another, than
 “ to retain them when acquired. But, if their
 “ wishes were so unbounded as not to be satisfied,
 “ without taking away a part of Asia also, if they
 “ would define it by indisputable limits, the king,
 “ for the sake of peace and harmony, would wil-
 “ lingly suffer his own moderate temper to be
 “ overcome by the greediness of the Romans.”
 These concessions, which appeared to the ambassa-
 dor of great moment towards obtaining a peace, the
 Romans deemed trifling. They thought it reason-
 able, that “ the king should defray the whole ex-
 “ pence occasioned by the war; because it was,
 “ through his fault, that it was begun. And that,
 “ not only Ionia, and *Æolia*, ought to be evacuated
 “ by the king’s troops; but, as all Greece had been
 “ set free, so all the cities of that nation, in Asia,
 “ should also be free, which could no other way
 “ be effected, than by Antiochus relinquishing the
 “ possession of that part of Asia, on the hither side
 “ of mount Taurus.”

XXXVI. THE ambassador, perceiving that no
 reasonable terms were to be obtained from the coun-
 cil, made a separate application to Publius Scipio,
 as he had been ordered; and, to prevail on him to
 favour his cause, told him, first, that the king would
 restore him his son, without a ransom; and then, as
 ignorant of the disposition of Scipio as he was of the
 Roman manners, he promised an immense weight
 of gold, and, excepting the title of king, an entire
 partnership in the sovereignty, if, through his means,
 he should obtain a peace. To which Scipio an-
 swered, “ I am the less surprised at your ignorance
 “ of the Roman character, in general, and of mine,
 “ to whom you have been sent, when I see that you
 “ are unacquainted with the situation even of the
 “ person from whom you come. You ought to
 “ have

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“ have kept *Lyfimachia*, to prevent our entering
 “ the *Chersonese*, or to have opposed us at the
 “ *Hellepont*, to hinder our passing into *Asia*, if you
 “ meant to ask peace from us, as from people soli-
 “ citous about the issue of the war. But, after
 “ leaving the passage into *Asia* open, and receiving
 “ not only a bridle, but also a yoke, how can you
 “ pretend to negotiate on a footing of equality,
 “ when you know that you must submit to orders?
 “ I shall consider my son as the greatest gift that
 “ the king’s munificence can confer; any other in-
 “ stances of it, I trust in the gods, my circumstances
 “ will never need, my mind certainly never will.
 “ For such an act of generosity to me he shall find
 “ me grateful, if, for a personal favour, he will ac-
 “ cept a personal return of gratitude. In my public
 “ capacity, I will neither accept from him, nor give
 “ him any thing. All that is in my power, at pre-
 “ sent, to give him, is, sincere advice. Go then,
 “ and desire him, in my name, to cease hostilities,
 “ and to refuse no terms of peace.” This counsel
 had no effect on the king, who thought that no
 chance of war could make his condition worse, since
 terms were dictated to him already, as if he were
 totally vanquished. Laying aside, therefore, for the
 present, all farther mention of peace, he turned his
 whole attention to the preparations for war.

XXXVII. THE consul, having made the neces-
 sary preparations for the execution of his designs,
 quitted the post where he lay, and marched, first, to
Dardanus, and then, to *Rhæteum*; from both which
 places the people came out, in crowds, to meet him.
 He then advanced to *Troy*, and having pitched his
 camp in the plain, under the walls, went up to the
 city, and into the citadel, where he offered sacrifice
 to *Minerva*, the tutelar deity of the place, while the
Trojans, by every act and expression of respect,
 shewed themselves proud of the Romans being de-
 scended

scended from them, and the Romans testified their happiness in having sprung from that origin. The army, marching thence, arrived, on the sixth day, at the source of the river Caicus. Here they were joined by king Eumenes. He had, at first, endeavoured to bring back his fleet, from the Hellespont to Elæa, for the winter; but, being prevented, during many days, by contrary winds, from passing the promontory of Lectos, and unwilling to be absent at the commencement of operations, he landed and came, with a small body of men, by the shortest road, to the Roman camp. From the camp he was sent home to Pergamus, to hasten supplies of provisions; and, as soon as he had delivered the corn, to the persons appointed by the consul, he returned to the camp, which remained in the same spot. The plan now adopted was, to have victuals prepared sufficient for a great many days, and to march, directly, against the enemy, before the winter should come on to stop them. The king's camp was near Thyatira, and Antiochus, hearing there that Publius Scipio had fallen sick, and was conveyed to Elæa, sent ambassadors to conduct his son to him. As this present was highly grateful to the mind of the father, so was the satisfaction which it gave no less salutary to his body. After long indulging his rapture, in the embraces of his son, at length he said to the ambassadors, "Tell the king, that I return him thanks; that, at present, I can make him no other requital, than my advice; which is not to come to an engagement, until he shall have heard that I have rejoined the army." Although an army of seventy thousand foot, and more than twelve thousand horse, inspired him, at times, with confidence, to hope for a favourable issue of a battle; yet, moved by the advice of so great a man, in whom, when he considered the uncertainty of the events of war, he placed his greatest trust for support, in any kind of fortune that might befall him, he retired beyond

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BOOK XXXVII. yond the river Phrygius, and pitched his camp near Magnesia of Sipylus; and lest, while he wished to prolong the time, the Romans might attempt his works, he drew round it a fosse six cubits deep, and twelve broad; and round the outside of this fosse, a double rampart, raising, on the inside bank, a wall flanked with towers at small distances, by means of which it was easy to hinder the enemy to pass the fosse.

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B. C. 190.**

XXXVIII. THE consul, thinking that the king was still in the neighbourhood of Thyatira, marched five days, without halting, until he came down into the Hyrcanian plains. Then, hearing of his departure, he followed his tracks, and encamped on the hither side of the river Phrygius, at the distance of four miles from the enemy. Here, a body of about one thousand horse, the greatest part of whom were Gallogrecians, the rest Dahans, and archers on horse-back, of other nations intermixed, passing the river with great fury, made an attack on the advanced guards, who, being unprepared, were at first, thrown into disorder. But, as the dispute was maintained, notwithstanding, and the Romans, who could easily be reinforced from their camp lying so near, increased in strength, the king's troops becoming weary, and unable to withstand superior numbers, endeavoured to retreat; but, before they could reach the river, very many were killed, on the bank, by the enemy pressing on their rear. For two days after, all remained quiet, neither party passing the river. On the third, the Romans passed it with their whole force, and encamped, at the distance of about two miles and a half from the enemy. While they were laying out and fortifying the camp, a body of the king's troops, consisting of three thousand chosen horse and foot, approached with great fury and violence. The party on guard, though much inferior in number, being only two thousand, without

without calling off any of the soldiers from the fortifying of the camp, sustained the combat with equal success at first, and, in the progress of it, repulsed the enemy, killing one hundred, and taking about the same number. For the four ensuing days, both armies stood each day, in order of battle, before their respective camps. On the fifth, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain, but Antiochus did not stir; so that his rear was not so far as one thousand feet from his rampart.

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XXXIX. THE consul, seeing him unwilling to fight, called a council next day, and asked their opinion, "how he ought to act if Antiochus would not give him an opportunity of engaging. For the winter was at hand, and he must either keep the soldiers out in camp, or, if they chose to retire to winter quarters, defer the business of the war until summer." The Romans never entertained a more contemptuous opinion of any enemy. The whole assembly, therefore, called on him to lead on immediately, and make use of the present ardour of the troops, who, as if the business were not to fight against so many thousands of enemies, but to slaughter an equal number of cattle, were ready to force their way, through trenches and ramparts, into the camp, if the enemy would not come out to battle. Cneius Domitius was then sent to discover the nature of the ground, through which they were to march, and on what side they could best approach the enemy's rampart. On his returning, with a full account of every particular, it was resolved, that the camp should next day be moved nearer to the enemy. On the third day, the standards were carried forward into the middle of the plain, and the troops began to form their line. Antiochus now thought it would be wrong to defer matters longer, lest, by declining a battle, he should damp the courage of his own men, and add to the con-

confidence of the enemy. He, therefore, drew out his forces, advancing only so far from the camp, as to shew that he was willing to come to an engagement. The Roman line was almost perfectly uniform throughout, in respect both of men and of their armour. There were two Roman legions, and two brigades of allies and Latines, each containing five thousand four hundred men. The Romans formed the centre, the Latines the wings. The spearmen composed the first line, the first-rank men the second, and the veterans closed the rear. Besides this regular body, the consul formed, on the right of it, and in a straight line with it, the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, intermixed with Achæan targeteers, making about three thousand foot; beyond these he posted somewhat less than three thousand horse, of which, eight hundred belonged to Eumenes; all the rest of the cavalry was Roman: and, in the extremity of the line, he placed bodies of Trallians and Cretans, equal in number, each making up five hundred men. His left wing did not need such supports, because it was flanked by a river with steep banks. However, four troops of horse were posted there. This was the whole amount of the Roman force. Two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who had, of their own accord, accompanied the army, were left to guard the camp. Sixteen elephants were placed behind the veterans in reserve; for, besides, that they were not supposed capable of withstanding the great number of the king's elephants, no less than fifty-four, the African elephants are not able to cope with an equal number of Indian, being inferior to them both in size, and in steadiness of courage.

XL. THE king's line was more chequered with troops of many nations, dissimilar both in their persons, and armour. There was a body of sixteen thousand men armed after the manner of the Macedonians,

donians, which they called a phalanx. This formed the centre, had five hundred men in front, and was divided into ten parts, which parts were separated by two elephants placed between each two, and it's depth, backwards from the front, was thirty-two ranks. This was the main strength of the king's army, and it exhibited a formidable sight, both in the other particulars of its appearance, and in the elephants, towering so high above the heads of the soldiers. They were of huge bulk, and their appearance was rendered more terrific by the caparisons of their foreheads and crests, and the towers fixed on their backs; four armed men stood on each tower, besides the managers of the beasts. On the right of the phalanx, were placed five hundred Gallogrecian horsemen, to whom were joined three thousand horsemen, clad in complete armour, whom they call cataphracti, or mailed. To these were added a brigade of near a thousand horse, which body they called agema. They were Medes, all picked men, with a mixture of horsemen from many other nations in that part of the world. Adjoining these, a body of sixteen elephants was placed in reserve. On the same side, a little farther on towards the wing, was the royal cohort; these were called *Argyraspides**, from the kind of armour which they wore. Next to these, stood one thousand two hundred Dahan bowmen on horseback; then, three thousand light-infantry, nearly half Cretans, and half Trallians; adjoining these, two thousand five hundred Mysian archers, and the flank of the whole was covered by four thousand Cyrtæan slingers, and Elymæan archers, intermixed. Next to the left flank of the phalanx, stood one thousand five hundred Gallogrecian horse, and two thousand Cappadocians, sent by king Ariarathes, wearing the same kind of armour; then, auxiliaries of all kinds, mixed

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* Silver shield-bearers.

together,

together, two thousand seven hundred; then, three thousand mailed horsemen; then, one thousand other horsemen, being a royal cohort, equipped, with lighter coverings, for themselves and their horses, but, in other respects, not unlike the rest: they were mostly Syrians, with a mixture of Phrygians and Lydians. In the front of this body of cavalry, were the chariots, armed with scythes, and a kind of camels, called dromedaries. These were rode by Arabian archers, who carried thin swords four cubits long, that they might be able to reach the enemy from so great a height. Then followed another multitude, like that in the right wing, first, Tarentines; then, two thousand five hundred Gallogrecian horsemen; then, one thousand new Cretans, and one thousand five hundred Carians and Cilicians, armed in the same manner; then, an equal number of Trallians, and three thousand targeteers, Pisidians, Pamphylians and Lycians; then came brigades of Cyrtæans and Elymæans, equal to those posted in the right wing, and sixteen elephants, standing at a small distance. The king himself took post in the right wing, the command of the left he gave to his son Seleucus, and Antipater, the son of his brother; and that of the centre to Minio, Zeuxis, and Philip, the master of the elephants.

XII. A MORNING fog, which, as the day advanced, rose up in clouds, spread a general darkness; and the moisture, issuing from it, and coming from the southward, wetted every thing. This circumstance, which was scarcely any inconvenience to the Romans, was of extreme prejudice to the king's troops. For the line of the Romans was of a moderate length, and the obscuring of the light did not hinder their seeing every part of it; they were, besides, mostly heavy armed troops, and the moisture had no tendency to blunt their swords and javelins. But the king's line was so very extensive, that, from the

the centre of it, the wings on each side could not be seen, much less could those at the extremities see one another; and then, the moisture relaxed the strings of their bows, their slings, and the thongs of their javelins. Besides, the armed chariots, by means of which Antiochus had trusted utterly to disorder the enemy's line, turned the terror of their operations on their owners. The manner in which they were armed was this; from the yoke, on both sides of the pole, they had ten scythes, each of a cubit in length, standing out like horns, to transfix any thing that they met; at each extremity of the yoke, two scythes stood out, one on a line with the yoke, the other on its lower side, pointing downwards to the ground; the former to cut through any thing that might come within its reach on the side, the other to catch such as fell, or endeavoured to go under it. At each extremity of the axle of the wheels, two scythes were fastened, in the same manner. The chariots, thus armed, if they had been placed in the rear, or between the ranks, must have been driven through his own men; the king, therefore, as already mentioned, placed them in front. Eumenes, seeing this, and being not unexperienced in such kind of fight, and knowing that those machines might prove as dangerous to their employers, as to their antagonists, if means were used to frighten the horses, rather than a regular attack made on them, ordered the Cretan bowmen, and slingers, and javelin-bearers, with some troops of horse, not in a body, but scattering themselves as widely as possible, to rush forwards, and pour weapons on them from all sides at once. This storm, as it were, partly, by the wounds made by the missile weapons, thrown from every quarter, and, partly, by the discordant shouts raised, so terrified the horses, that, immediately, as if they were unbridled, they galloped about at random. The light-infantry, the lightly accoutred slingers, and the active Cretans, quickly

quickly evaded their encounter; and the horsemen, following them, increased the tumult and the terror of the horses, and of the camels, which were thrown into a fright at the same time, while the crowd of the by-standers redoubled the shouts. By these means, the chariots were driven out of the ground between the two lines, and when this empty piece of parade was removed, both parties then gave the signal, and advanced to a regular engagement.

XLII. BUT these chariots, thus ineffective against the enemy, soon proved the cause of great mischief to the army of the king. For the troops, posted next behind, for their support, being terrified at the fright and wild disorder of the horses, betook themselves to flight, and left all exposed, as far as to the post of the mailed horsemen; and even these, when the Romans, after dispersing the reserves, approached, did not sustain their first onset. Some fled, and others, being delayed by the weight of their coverings and armour, were put to the sword. The whole left wing then gave way, and the auxiliaries, posted between the cavalry and the phalanx, being thrown into disorder, the terror spread even to the centre. Here the ranks were broken, by the flying soldiers rushing in between them, and the same cause deprived the men of the use of their long spears, called by the Macedonians *sarissas*. While they were in this disorder, the Roman legions, advancing upon them, discharged their javelins among them. Even the elephants, standing in the way, did not deter the Roman soldiers, who had learned, by experience in the African wars, both to evade the onset of the animal, and, getting at one side of it, either to ply it with darts, or, if they could come near enough, to cut its sinews with their swords. The front of the centre was now almost cut to pieces, and the reserve, being surrounded, was attacked on the rear, when the Romans perceived their
their

their troops in another quarter flying, and heard shouts of dismay almost close to their camp. For Antiochus, who commanded on the right wing, having perceived that the enemy, relying on the river for security, had placed no reserve there, except four troops of horse, and that these, keeping close to the infantry, left an open on the bank of the river, made a charge on that quarter, with a body of auxiliaries and mailed horsemen. And he not only attacked them in front, but, going round the extremity of their line, near the river, pressed them in flank also; until, having routed the cavalry first, and then the infantry, who were next, he made them fly with precipitation to their camp.

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XLIII. THE camp was commanded by Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, son of Marcus Lepidus, who, in a few years after, became chief pontiff. On seeing the troops flying, he went out, with his whole guard, to meet them, and ordered them, first, to halt, and then to return to the fight; at the same time, upbraiding them with cowardice, and with running away in that shameful manner. He then proceeded to threats, that if they did not obey his orders, they would rush blindly on their own destruction. At last, he gave orders to his own men to kill the foremost of the runaways, and with their swords to drive the crowd, that followed, back against the enemy. The greater fear now overcame the less. Compelled by the danger on either side, they first halted, and then marched back to meet the enemy; and Æmilius, with his guard, consisting of two thousand men of distinguished valour, gave a vigorous check to the furious pursuit of Antiochus. At the same time, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having, from the right wing, where the left of the enemy had been routed, at the beginning of the engagement, observed the flight of his friends on the left, and the tumult near the camp, came up season-

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ably, with two hundred horse. When Antiochus saw those men renewing the fight, whom, but just now, he had seen running away, and another large body advancing from the camp, with a third from the line, he turned about his horse and fled. The Romans, thus victorious in both wings, advanced over heaps of slain, which were most numerous in the centre, where the strength of the bravest men and the heavy armour had prevented flight, and proceeded to rife the camp. The horsemen of Eumenes, first, and then the rest of the cavalry, pursued the enemy through all parts of the plain, and killed the hindmost as they overtook them. But the fugitives were exposed to more severe distress by the chariots, elephants, and camels intermixed, and by their own disorderly haste; for, after they once broke their ranks, they rushed, as if blind, one upon another, and were trodden to death by those animals running over them. In the camp also there was great slaughter committed, rather greater than even in the battle. For the first that quitted the field, in general, directed their flight to the camp, and the guard, encouraged by the great number of these, defended the rampart with the more obstinacy. The Romans, having been stopped at the gates and rampart, which they had expected to master at the first push, when they did, at length, break through, were led by rage to make the more dreadful carnage.

XLIV. ACCORDING to the accounts given by historians, there were killed, on that day, fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse; taken one thousand four hundred, with fifteen elephants and their managers. Of the Romans, many were wounded, but no more than three hundred foot and twenty-four horsemen killed; and of the troops of Eumenes twenty-five. For that day, the victors, after plundering the enemy's camp, returned with great store of booty to their own; and, on the day following, stripped

stripped the bodies of the slain, and collected the prisoners. Ambassadors came from Thyatira and Magnesia, near Sipylus, with a surrender of those cities. Antiochus fled, with very few attendants; but greater numbers, collecting about him on the road, he arrived at Sardis, with a numerous body of soldiers, about the middle of the night, and hearing there that his son Seleucus, and several of his friends, had gone on to Apamea, he likewise, at the fourth watch, set out for that city, with his wife and daughter, having committed to Zeno the command of the city, and the government of Lydia to Timon; but the townspeople disregarding these, and the soldiers who were in the citadel, agreed to send deputies to the consul.

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XLV. ABOUT this time the deputies came from Tralles, from Magnesia on the Mæander, and from Ephesus, to surrender those cities. Polyxenidas had quitted Ephesus, as soon as he heard of the battle; and, sailing with the fleet as far as Patara, in Lycia, where, through fear of the Rhodian fleet stationed at Megiste, he landed, and, with a small retinue, pursued his journey, by land, into Syria. The several states of Asia submitted themselves to the disposal of the consul, and to the dominion of the Roman people. The consul was now at Sardis, whither Publius Scipio came from Elæa, as soon as he was able to endure the fatigue of travelling. Shortly after, arrived a herald from Antiochus, who solicited, through Publius Scipio, and obtained from the consul, permission for the king to send ambassadors. In a few days time, Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater the king's nephew, arrived in that character. These, having first had a meeting with Eumenes, whom they expected to find most averse to peace, on account of old disputes, and seeing him better disposed to a reconciliation than either they or the king had hoped, addressed

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themselves, then to Publius Scipio, and, through him, to the consul. At their request, a full council was assembled to hear the business of their commission, when Zeuxis spoke to this effect: "Romans, we are not prepared to make any proposal from ourselves; but rather desire to know, from you, by what atonements we can expiate the error of our king, and obtain pardon and peace from our conquerors. You have ever displayed the greatest magnanimity, in pardoning vanquished kings and nations, and ought you not to shew a much greater, and more placable spirit, after your late victory, which has made you masters of the whole world? You ought, now, like deities, laying aside all disputes with mortal beings, to protect and spare the human race." It had been determined, before the ambassadors came, what answer should be given them; and it was agreed that Africanus should deliver it. He is said to have spoken thus: "Of those things that are in the gift of the immortal gods, we Romans possess as much as the gods have been pleased to bestow. Our spirit, which is in the direction of our own mind, is the same to day, that it has always been, in every state of fortune; prosperity has never elated, nor adversity depressed it. Of the truth of this, to omit other instances, I might produce your friend Hannibal as a convincing proof; but I can appeal to yourselves. After we had passed the Hellespont; before we saw the king's camp or his army; when the chance of war was open to both, and the issue uncertain; on your proposing to treat of peace we offered you terms, at a time when we were, both of us, on a footing of equality; and the very same terms we offer you now, when we are victorious, and you vanquished. Resign all pretensions in Europe, and cede that part of Asia, which lies on this side of mount Taurus. Then, towards the expences of the war,

“ ye shall pay fifteen thousand talents of Eubœa * ;
 “ five hundred immediately, two thousand five hun-
 “ dred when the senate and people of Rome shall
 “ have ratified the peace, and one thousand, annu-
 “ ally, for twelve years after. It is likewise thought
 “ fit, that four hundred talents be paid to Eumenes,
 “ and the quantity of corn, remaining unpaid, of
 “ what was due to his father. When we shall have
 “ settled these articles, it will be a kind of pledge,
 “ to ensure to us your performance of them, if you
 “ give twenty hostages, such as we shall choose.
 “ But never can we be properly satisfied, that the
 “ Roman people will enjoy peace on the side of
 “ that country in which Hannibal shall be. Him,
 “ therefore, we demand, above all, Ye shall also
 “ deliver up Thoas, the Ætolian, the fomentor of
 “ the Ætolian war, who armed you against us by
 “ the assurances of their support, and them by
 “ assurances of yours; and, together with him,
 “ Mnesilochus, the Acarnanian, and Philo, and Eu-
 “ bulidas, of Chalcis. The king will now make
 “ peace under worse circumstances, on his side, be-
 “ cause he makes it later than he might have done,
 “ If he now makes any delay, let him consider, that
 “ it is more difficult to pull down the majesty of
 “ kings, from the highest to the middle stage, than
 “ it is to precipitate it from the middle to the
 “ lowest.” The king’s instructions to his am-
 bassadors were, to accede to any terms of peace.
 It was settled, therefore, that ambassadors should be
 sent to Rome. The consul distributed his army
 in winter quarters at Magnesia on the Mæander,
 Tralles, and Ephesus. In a few days after, the king
 brought the hostages to Ephesus, to the consul; and
 also the ambassadors, who were to go to Rome, ar-
 rived, Eumenes set out for Rome at the same time

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* About 2,900,000 l.

with the king's ambassadors, and they were followed by embassies from all the states of Asia.

XLVI. DURING the time of these transactions in Asia, two proconsuls arrived, almost together, at Rome, from their provinces, with hopes of triumphing: Quintus Minucius, from Liguria, and Manius Acilius, from Ætolia. After hearing their recitals of their services, the senate refused a triumph to Minucius, but, with great cheerfulness, decreed one to Acilius, and he rode through the city in triumph over king Antiochus and the Ætolians. In his triumph were carried, in procession, two hundred and thirty military ensigns; of unwrought silver, three thousand pounds weight; of coin, one hundred and thirteen thousand Attic tetradrachms*; and two hundred and forty-eight thousand † cistophoruses ‡; of chased silver vessels, a great number, and of great weight. He carried, also, the king's plate, furniture, and splendid wardrobe; golden crowns, presents, from the allied states, forty-five; spoils of all kinds; and he led thirty-six prisoners of distinction, officers in the armies of the king, and of the Ætolians. Damocritus, the Ætolian general, a short time before, escaped out of prison in the night; but, being overtaken by the guards on the bank of the Tiber, he stabbed himself with a sword before he was seized. Nothing was wanted, but the soldiers, to follow the general's chariot; in every other respect the triumph was magnificent, both in the grandeur of the procession, and the splendor of his exploits. The joy of this triumph was much damped by melancholy news from Spain: that the army, under the command of Lucius Æmilius, proconsul, had

* 34,596 l. 16 s. 8 d.

† 4,270 l. 19 s. 9 d.

‡ A coin so called, from its bearing the image of a priest carrying, in a box, (cistus) the consecrated things, used in the mysteries of Ceres, and of other deities. In value 7½ d. were equal to four drachmas.

been defeated in a battle with the Lacitanians, at the town of Lycon, in the country of the Vastitans; that six thousand of the Romans were killed; and that the rest, being driven in a panic within their rampart, found it difficult to defend the camp, and had retreated, by long marches, as if flying, into a friendly country. Such were the accounts from Spain. From Gaul, Lucius Aurunculeius, prætor, introduced to the senate deputies from Placentia and Cremona, who represented those colonies as distressed by the want of inhabitants; some having been carried off by the casualties of war, others by sickness; and several, weary of the neighbourhood of the Gauls, having removed out of the colonies. On this, the senate decreed, that "Caius Lælius, the consul, if he thought proper, should enrol six thousand families, to be divided between those colonies; and that Lucius Aurunculeius, prætor, should appoint commissioners to conduct them." Accordingly, Marcus Atilius Serranus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Publius, and Lucius Valerius Tappus, son of Caius, were appointed to that office.

XLVII. Not long after, as the time of the consular elections drew nigh, the consul, Caius Lælius came home to Rome from Gaul. He not only enrolled the colonists, ordered by the decree of senate, passed in his absence, as a supplement to Cremona and Placentia, but proposed, and, on his recommendation, the senate voted, that two new colonies should be established in the lands which had belonged to the Boians. At the same time arrived a letter from the prætor, Lucius Æmilius, containing an account of the sea-fight at Myonnesus, and of the consul, Lucius Scipio, having transported his army into Asia. A supplication, for one day, was decreed, on account of the naval victory, and another, for a second day, to implore the gods, that, as the Roman army had then, for the first time, pitched a camp in Asia,

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Asia, that event might, in the issue, prove prosperous and happy. The consul was ordered to sacrifice twenty of the greater of victims, on occasion of each supplication. The election of consuls was then held, and was attended with a strong contest. One of the candidates, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, lay under general censure, for having, in order to sue for the office, left his province of Sicily without asking leave of the senate. The other candidates were Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Valerius Messala. Fulvius alone was elected consul, the rest not having gained a majority of the centuries; and, the next day, rejecting Lepidus (for Messala had declined) he declared Cneius Manlius his colleague. Then were chosen prætors, two of the name of Quintus Fabius, Labeo and Pictor; the latter of whom had, in that year, been inaugurated flamen Quirinalis; Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Spurius Postumius Albinus, Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, and Lucius Bæbius Dives.

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XLVIII. VALERIUS ANTIAS says, that, at the time when Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Cneius Manlius Vulso came into the consulship, a rumour prevailed strongly at Rome, and was received, as almost certain, that the consul, Lucius Scipio, and, with him, Publius Africanus, had been invited by the king to a conference, under pretence of restoring young Scipio; that they were both seized, and that, when the leaders were thus made prisoners, the enemy's army was immediately led up to the Roman camp; that this was stormed, and all the forces of the Romans entirely cut off; that, in consequence of this, the Ætolians had taken courage, and refused to obey orders; and that several of their leading men had gone into Macedonia, Dardania, and Thrace to hire auxiliaries; that Aulus Terentius Varro, and Marcus Claudius Lepidus, had been sent by Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, from Ætolia, to carry

carry this intelligence to Rome. To this story he adds, that the Ætolian ambassadors being asked in the senate, among other questions, from whom they had received the account of the Roman generals being made prisoners in Asia by king Antiochus, and the army being cut off, answered, that they had the information from their own ambassadors who were with the consul. As I do not find that any other writer mentions this rumour, I neither take upon myself to affirm the account as true, nor yet to pass it by as groundless.

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XLIX. WHEN the Ætolian ambassadors were brought to an audience of the senate, although their cause, and their circumstances, rather required that they should confess, and humbly seek pardon for their crime, or error, yet they began with enumerating their services to the Roman people; and, in an upbraiding kind of manner, talked of their own bravery, in the war with Philip; so as to give very general offence by the insolence of their discourse. The effect of their thus recalling to people's minds old matters which had been forgotten, was, that the senators recollected many more injuries than services done by the Ætolians; and that, when they stood in need of compassion, they provoked anger and hatred. They were asked by one senator, whether they submitted themselves to the disposal of the Roman people; then, by another, whether they would have the same allies and enemies as the Roman people: but they gave no answer; on which they were ordered to withdraw. The whole senate, then, almost with one voice, cried out, that "the Ætolians were still entirely devoted to Antiochus; and that their spirits were supported solely by their expectations from him. Wherefore the war ought to be carried on against such open enemies, and their haughty spirits tamed." Another circumstance which helped to inflame the resentment

of

BOOK of the senate, was, that at this very time, when the
 XXXVII. Ætolians were soliciting peace from the Romans,
 Y. R. 461. they were making war on Dolopia and Atharnania.
 B. C. 189. A decree of the senate was made, on the motion of
 Manius Acilius, who had defeated Antiochus and
 the Ætolians, that "the Ætolian ambassadors should
 " be ordered to leave the city that day, and to quit
 " Italy within fifteen days." Aulus Terentius Varro
 was appointed to escort them on the road; and no-
 tice was given to them, that, "if any ambassadors
 " from the Ætolians should thenceforward come
 " to Rome, without the permission of the general
 " commanding in that province, and without being
 " accompanied by a Roman deputy, all such would
 " be treated as enemies."—In this manner were the
 Ætolians dismissed.

L. THE consuls then consulted the senate on the
 distribution of the provinces; and it was resolved,
 that they should cast lots for Ætolia, and Asia. To
 him, to whose lot Asia should fall, was assigned the
 army, then under Lucius Scipio; and, to recruit its
 numbers, four thousand Roman foot, and two hun-
 dred horse, and, of the allies and Latines, eight
 thousand foot and four hundred horse: with this
 force he was to carry on the war with Antiochus.
 To the other consul was decreed, the army in Æto-
 lia; and he was allowed to raise, for a reinforce-
 ment, the same number of natives and allies, allotted
 to his colleague. This consul was, likewise, ordered
 to equip, and take with him, the ships that had
 been fitted out the year before; and not only to
 wage war with the Ætolians, but also to pass over
 into the island of Cephallenia. He was farther
 directed, if he could do it without injury to the
 public service, to come home to Rome to hold the
 elections; for, besides replacing the annual magi-
 strates, it was resolved, that censors also should be
 created; and if any particular business should detain
 him,

him, he was, then, to acquaint the senate, that he could not attend at the time of the elections. *Ætolia* fell, by lot, to *Marcus Fulvius*; *Asia* to *Cneius Manlius*. The prætors then cast lots, and *Spurius Postumius Albinus* obtained the city, and foreign, jurisdiction. *Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sicily*; *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the flamen quirinalis, *Sardinia*; *Quintus Fabius Labeo*, the fleet; *Lucius Plautius Hypsæus*, hither *Spain*; *Lucius Bæbius Dives*, farther *Spain*. For *Sicily*, was allotted one legion, with the fleet then in the province; and the prætor was ordered to levy, on the *Sicilians*, two tenths of the corn; one of which he was to send into *Asia*, the other into *Ætolia*. It was also ordered, that the same impost should be collected in *Sardinia*, and the corn sent to the same armies as the *Sicilian* corn. A reinforcement was given to *Lucius Bæbius*, for *Spain*, of one thousand Roman foot and fifty horse, with six thousand *Latine* foot and two hundred horse. To *Plautius Hypsæus*, for the hither *Spain*, were assigned one thousand Roman foot, and two thousand *Latines*, with two hundred horse; so that, with these supplies, each of the two *Spains* should have a legion. Of the magistrates of the preceding year, *Caius Lælius* was continued in command, for a year, with his present army, as was *Publius Junius*, proprætor in *Etruria*, with the army then in the province, and *Marcus Tuccius*, prætor in *Bruttium* and *Apulia*.

LI. BEFORE the prætors went into their provinces, a dispute arose between *Publius Licinius*, chief pontiff, and *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, flamen quirinalis; such as had happened, in the time of their fathers, between *Lucius Metellus*, and *Postumius Albinus*. *Metellus*, who was chief pontiff at the time, had detained, for the performance of the business of religion, the other, who was consul, and was setting out, with his colleague, *Caius Lutatius*, to the fleet

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at Sicily; and now, Publius Licinius detained this prætor, from going to Sardinia. The matter was agitated in very warm debates, both in the senate, and before the people: authoritative commands were issued on both sides; pledges seized to secure appearance, fines imposed, applications made to the tribunes, and appeals to the people. At last, considerations of religion prevailed, and the flamen obeyed the order of the pontiff; whereupon, the fines were remitted, by order of the people. The prætor, thus bereft of his province, resolved to abdicate his office, but was deterred by the authority of the senate, who decreed, that he should hold the civil jurisdiction between natives and foreigners. The levies being finished in a few days, (for the foldiers to be enlisted were not many,) the consuls and prætors repaired to their provinces. There was spread, at this time, an unauthenticated report, the author of which no one knew, of the transactions that had passed in Asia; and, in a few days after, certain information, and a letter from the general, arrived at Rome. The satisfaction which this occasioned was great, not so much because of any apprehensions, entertained of late; for Antiochus, since his defeat in Ætolia, was no longer an object of dread, as because of the opinion which had been formerly conceived; for when this war was first begun, he was considered as a very formidable enemy, both on account of his own strength, and of his having Hannibal to direct the business of the war. The senate, however, made no change in the plan of sending the consul into Asia; nor did they lessen the force intended for that province, because they feared that they might be engaged in a war with the Gauls settled in that country.

LII. IN a short time after, Marcus Aurelius Cotta, deputy from Lucius Scipio, with the ambassadors from king Antiochus, and also king Eumenes, and

and ambassadors from Rhodes, arrived at Rome. Cotta, first, in the senate, and then, by order of the senate, in the assembly of the people, gave a narrative of the services performed in Asia. On which a decree was passed, ordering a supplication, of three days continuance, and that forty victims of the greater kinds should be offered on the occasion. Then audience was given, first, to Eumenes. After briefly returning thanks to the senate, for having relieved him and his brother from a siege, and protected his kingdom from the unjust attacks of Antiochus; and then, congratulating them on the success of their arms, by sea and land, whereby they had utterly routed Antiochus, driven him out of his camp, and expelled him, first, from Europe, and then from all Asia, on this side of mount Taurus; he added, that with respect to his services, he wished them to be learned from their own generals and their own deputies, rather than from his mouth. All were pleased with his discourse, and desired him to lay aside his modesty so far as, to tell frankly what recompence he thought himself deserving of from the senate and people of Rome: assuring him, that "the senate were inclined to act with greater zeal, and more abundant liberality, if possible, than even his deserts demanded." To this the King answered, that "had others offered him a choice of rewards, and allowed him the privilege of consulting the Roman senate, he would have applied to that most august body for their advice; that he might not appear to have wanted either moderation in his wishes, or modesty in his requests. But now, when they themselves were the donors, it was much more proper that their munificence, towards him and his brothers, should be regulated by their own judgment." The senate, not discouraged by this answer, still urged him to speak; and, after a long contest of kindness, on one side, and modesty on the other, between parties who

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BOOK XXXVII. who maintained a mutual deference to each other, with a degree of complaisance as insuperable as it was equal on both sides, Eumenes withdrew from the senate-house. The senate persisted in their resolution, and said, that "it was idle to suppose the king not to know the objects of his own hopes, and of his views in coming. He knew best what would accommodate his own dominions. He was much better acquainted with Asia than the senate. They ought, therefore, to call him back, and insist on his explaining his wishes and sentiments."

LIII. THE king, being brought back by the prætor into the senate-house, and desired to speak freely, began thus: "Conscript Fathers, I should have persevered in declining to speak, but that I knew you would presently call in the Rhodian ambassadors, and that, when they had been heard, I must, of necessity, have spoken. And my task therein will be the more difficult, as their demands will be of such a nature, that, so far from appearing to contain any thing detrimental to me, they will not even seem to have any immediate connection with their own interest. For they will plead the cause of the Grecian states, and allege, that they ought to be set free; which point being gained, is it not plain to every one, that they will alienate from us not only those states which shall be set free, but likewise those that have been tributary to us since the earliest times; and that, after having bound them under so great an obligation, they will keep them, under the denomination of allies, in reality subject to their government, and entirely at their disposal. And while they are aspiring to such a height of power, they will pretend, truly, that the business no ways concerns themselves; they will only say, that it is becoming of you, and conformable to your past conduct. It will be proper, therefore, to be on your guard, lest you
" be

" be deceived by such specious arguments; and
 " lest, by an unfair distribution, you not only de-
 " press some of your allies too much, while you
 " exalt others beyond measure, but, also, put those,
 " who bore arms against you, in a better state than
 " your allies and friends. As to what regards my-
 " self, in other cases, I should rather wish it to be
 " thought I had yielded somewhat of the full extent
 " of my right, than that I had kept up too obstinate
 " a struggle to maintain it; but, in a contest of
 " friendship and good-will towards you, and of the
 " respect to be paid to you, I cannot, with any pa-
 " tience, bear to be outdone. Friendship with you
 " was the principal inheritance that I received from
 " my father; who, of all the inhabitants of Asia and
 " Greece, was the first who formed a league of amity
 " with you; and this he maintained, with constant
 " and invariable fidelity, to the last hour of his life.
 " Nor did he demonstrate, merely, a faithful and
 " kind inclination towards you, but took an active
 " part in all the wars which you waged in Greece,
 " whether on land or sea; he supplied you with all
 " kinds of provisions in such a manner, that not one
 " of your allies could vie with him in any respect;
 " and, finally, while he was exhorting the Bœotians
 " to friendship with you, in the middle of his dis-
 " course, he was struck lifeless by a fit, and expired
 " soon after. In his steps I have trod; and though
 " I could not surpass the warmth of his wishes, and
 " the zeal with which he cultivated your friendship,
 " for these could not be exceeded, yet fortune, the
 " times, Antiochus, and the war waged in Asia,
 " afforded me occasions of outdoing him in real
 " acts, in meritorious and expensive services. An-
 " tiochus, king of Asia, and of a part of Europe,
 " offered me his daughter in marriage, offered to
 " restore immediately the states that had revolted
 " from us, and gave great hopes of enlarging my
 " dominions, if I would have joined him in the war
 " against

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“ against you. I will not boast, as of a matter of merit,
 “ that I was guilty of no trespass against you; but
 “ I will rather mention those instances of conduct
 “ which are worthy of the very early friendship
 “ between our house and you. I gave your com-
 “ manders such succours of land and sea forces, that
 “ not one of your allies can stand in competition
 “ with me. I supplied them with provisions for
 “ both the land and sea service: in all the naval
 “ engagements, fought in various places, I took
 “ my share, and I never was sparing of my labour
 “ or danger. What, among all the calamities of
 “ war, is the most grievous, I underwent a siege;
 “ being shut up in Pergamus, in the utmost danger
 “ both of my kingdom and of my life. Afterwards,
 “ when relieved from the siege, notwithstanding
 “ that Antiochus was encamped on one side of the
 “ capital of my dominions, and Seleucus on an-
 “ other, yet, regardless of my own affairs, I went
 “ with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to meet
 “ your consul Lucius Scipio, and to assist in trans-
 “ porting his army. From the time, when the
 “ army came over into Asia, I never quitted the
 “ consul; no Roman soldier was more regular in his
 “ attendance in your camp, than I and my brothers.
 “ No expedition, no battle of cavalry was under-
 “ taken without me. In the field, I took that
 “ post, and I maintained that ground, which the
 “ consul’s pleasure allotted to me. I do not intend,
 “ Conscript Fathers, to say who can compare his
 “ services, during that war, to mine. There is
 “ not one of all those nations, or kings, whom you
 “ hold in high esteem, with whom I do not take
 “ upon me to set myself on a level. Masinissa
 “ was your enemy before he became your ally;
 “ nor did he, while his kingdom flourished, come
 “ to your aid at the head of his troops; but, de-
 “ throned, exiled, and stripped of all his forces, he
 “ fled for refuge to your camp with one troop of
 “ horse.

" horse. Nevertheless, because he faithfully and
 " diligently adhered to your cause in Africa, against
 " Syphax and the Carthaginians, you not only re-
 " stored him to the throne of his father, but, by
 " adding, to his own, the most opulent part of the
 " kingdom of Syphax, rendered him the most po-
 " tent of all the kings in Africa. What reward
 " then, and what honour do we deserve at your
 " hands, who have never been foes, but always al-
 " lies? My father, myself, my brothers, have car-
 " ried arms in your cause by sea and land, not only
 " in Asia, but in countries remote from our home ;
 " in Peloponnesus, in Bœotia, in Ætolia, during
 " the wars with Philip, and Antiochus, and the
 " Ætolians. It may be asked me, What then are
 " your demands? Conscrip't Fathers, since I must
 " comply with what I perceive is your desire, and
 " explain my wishes: if you have removed Antio-
 " chus beyond the mountains of Taurus with the
 " intention of holding those countries yourselves, I
 " wish for no other people to settle near me, no
 " other neighbours than you; nor do I expect that
 " any other event could give greater safety and sta-
 " bility to my government. But, if your purpose is
 " to retire thence, and withdraw your armies, I may
 " venture to affirm, that not one of your allies is
 " more deserving than I am of possessing what you
 " have acquired. But then it will be a glorious act
 " to liberate states from bondage. I agree that it
 " will, provided they have committed nothing hos-
 " tile against you. But, if they took part with An-
 " tiochus, is it not much more becoming your
 " wisdom and equity, to consult the interest of your
 " well-deserving friends, than that of your ene-
 " mies?"

LIV. THE senate was well pleased with the king's
 discourse, and plainly manifested a disposition to act,
 in every particular, with liberality, and an earnest

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desire to gratify him. An embassy from Smyrnia was next introduced, because some of the Rhodian ambassadors were not present; but this was quickly dispatched. The Smyrneans were very highly commended for having resolved to endure the last extremities rather than surrender to the king. And then the Rhodians were introduced. The chief of their embassy, after taking a view of the early periods of their friendship with the Roman people, and displaying the merits of the Rhodians in the war with Philip, and, afterwards, in that with Antiochus, proceeded thus: "Conscript Fathers, there is nothing
" in the whole course of our business that gives us
" more trouble and uneasiness than our having a
" debate with Eumenes; with whom, alone, of all
" the kings in the world, each of us, as individuals,
" and, what weighs more with us, our state, as a
" community, is closely connected in friendship.
" But, Conscript Fathers, not our own inclinations
" disunite us, but the nature of things, whose sway
" is all-powerful, according to which, we, being
" free ourselves, plead the cause of other men's
" freedom; while kings wish to have all things
" subservient, and subject to their will. Yet, how-
" ever that matter may be, we are more embarrassed
" by our respect towards the king, than either by
" any intricacy in the subject of debate, or any perplexity which it seems likely to occasion in your
" deliberations. For if you could make no honourable requital to the king, your friend and
" ally, who has merited highly in this very war,
" and the rewarding whose services is the subject
" under your consideration, by any other means
" than by delivering free states into bondage under
" his power, you might, then, indeed, find it hard to
" determine between the sending away your friend,
" the king, without an honourable requital, and the
" departing from your own established practice;
" tarnishing, now, by the servitude of so many states,
" the

" the glory which you acquired in the war with BOOK
 " Philip. But, from this necessity of retrenching, XXXVII.
 " either from your grateful intentions towards your Y. R. 563.
 " friend, or from your own glory, fortune com- B. C. 189.
 " pletely frees you. For, through the bounty of
 " the gods, your victory is not more glorious than
 " it is rich, so that it can easily acquit you of that
 " debt. Lycaonia, and both the Phrygias, with all
 " Pisidia, the Chersonese, and the adjoining parts
 " of Europe, are all in your power; and any one
 " of these, added to the king's possessions, would
 " more than double the dominions of Eumenes;
 " but, if they were all conferred upon him, they
 " would set him on a level with the greatest of
 " kings. You have it, therefore, in your power to
 " enrich your allies with the prizes of the war; and,
 " at the same time, to adhere to your established
 " mode of conduct, and to keep in mind what
 " motive you assigned as your cause of war, first against
 " Philip, now against Antiochus; what line of con-
 " duct you pursued after your conquest of Philip;
 " what is now desired and expected from you, not
 " so much because you have done it before, as be-
 " cause it is suitable to your character to do it. For,
 " what to some is both a specious and an honourable
 " motive for taking arms, is not so to others. Some
 " go to war to get possession of land, some of vil-
 " lages, some of towns, some of ports, and some of
 " the sea-coast. Such things you never coveted,
 " when you had them not; and you cannot covet
 " them now, when the whole world is under your
 " dominion. You ever fought for the exaltation
 " of your dignity and glory, in the sight of the
 " whole human race, who, now, a long time past,
 " revere your name and empire next to that of the
 " immortal gods. What was arduous in the pur-
 " suit and acquisition, may, perhaps, prove more
 " difficult to be maintained. You have undertaken
 " to deliver out of bondage under kings, a nation

BOOK " the most ancient and most highly distinguished,
 XXXVII. " both by the fame of its exploits, and by universal
 Y. R. 363. " praise for politeness and learning; and the whole
 B. C. 189. " of it, having been received under your care and
 " protection, has a claim on you for your patronage
 " for ever. The cities, standing on the original
 " soil, are not more Grecian than their colonies,
 " which formerly migrated thence into Asia; nor
 " has change of country changed either their race
 " or manners. Every state of us has ventured to
 " maintain a dutiful contest with its parents and
 " founders, vying with them in every virtue and
 " valuable qualification. Most of you have visited
 " the cities in Greece, and those in Asia. We ac-
 " knowledge an inferiority in no other respect, than
 " in our being farther distant from you. The Mas-
 " silians, whom, if the nature, implanted, as it were,
 " in the disposition of their country, could have been
 " overcome, the many barbarous tribes, surrounding
 " them, would, by this time, have rendered as sa-
 " vage as themselves, are, as we hear, deservedly
 " held in as high esteem by you as if they were in-
 " habitants of the very heart of Greece. For they
 " have preserved, not only the sound of the lan-
 " guage, the mode of dress, and the habit; but,
 " what is more material than any thing else, the
 " manners, the laws, and a mind pure and untainted
 " by contagion from their neighbours. The boun-
 " dary of your empire, at present, is mount Taurus.
 " Nothing, within that line, ought to be thought
 " remote. To whatever extent your arms have
 " reached, let the emanations of your justice, from
 " this centre, reach to the same length. Let bar-
 " barians, with whom the commands of masters
 " have always served instead of laws, have kings,
 " as it is their wish; but Greeks, in whatever con-
 " dition Fortune assigns them, carry spirits like your
 " own. They too, in former times, supported em-
 " pire by their internal strength. They, now, pray
 " that

" that empire may remain to eternity, where it is
 " lodged at present. They are well pleased at their
 " liberty being protected by your arms, since they
 " are unable to protect it by their own. But it is
 " objected, that some of their states sided with An-
 " tiochus. So did others, before, with Philip; so
 " did the Tarentines with Pyrrhus. Not to enu-
 " merate other nations, Carthage enjoys liberty and
 " its own laws. Consider, Conscrip Fathers, how
 " much you owe to this precedent, set by your-
 " selves. You will surely be disposed to refuse to
 " the ambition of Eumenes, what you refused to
 " your own most just resentment. With what brave
 " and faithful exertions, we, Rhodians, have assisted
 " you, both in this late war, and in all the wars that
 " you have waged in that part of the world, we
 " leave to your own judgment. We, now, in
 " peace, offer you such advice, that, if you con-
 " form to it, all the world will judge, that your use
 " of the victory redounds more to the splendor of
 " your glory than the victory itself." Their argu-
 ments seemed well adapted to the Roman grandeur.

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LV. AFTER the Rhodians, the ambassadors of
 Antiochus were called. These, after the common
 practice of petitioners for pardon, acknowledged the
 king's error, and besought the Conscrip Fathers to
 " let their deliberations be directed, rather, by their
 " own clemency, than by the misconduct of the
 " king, who had suffered punishment fully suffi-
 " cient; in fine, to ratify, by their authority, the
 " peace granted by their general Lucius Scipio, on
 " the terms which he had granted." The senate
 voted both; that the peace should be observed: and
 the people, a few days after, passed an order to the
 same purpose. The treaty was concluded in the
 Capitol, with Antipater, chief of the embassy, and
 nephew of king Antiochus. Then audience was
 given to the other embassies from Asia, to all of

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whom was returned the same answer, that "the senate, in conformity to the usage of their ancestors, would send ten ambassadors to examine and adjust the affairs of Asia. That the outline of the arrangement was to be this: that the places on the hither side of mount Taurus, which had been within the limits of the realm of Antiochus, should be assigned to Eumenes, excepting Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Mæander; and that these, last mentioned, should become the property of the Rhodians. The other states of Asia, which had been tributary to Attalus, should likewise pay tribute to Eumenes; and such as had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and independent." The ten ambassadors appointed were, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Appius Claudius Nero, Cneius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Junius Brutus, Lucius Aurunculeius, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Ælius Tubero.

LVI. THESE were commissioned, with full powers, to determine all points, that required investigation, on the spot. The general plan the senate settled thus: that "all Lycaonia, both the Phrygias, and Mysia, the royal forests, and Lydia, and Ionia, excepting those towns which had been free on the day whereon the battle was fought with Antiochus, and excepting, by name, Magnesia at Sipylus; then the city of Caria, called also Hydrela, and the territory of Hydrela, stretching towards Phrygia, and the forts and villages on the river Mæander, and likewise the towns, excepting such as had been free before the war, and excepting, by name, Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissum, and the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; all these should be given to king Eumenes. Lycia was assigned to the Rhodians, excepting the same Telmissus, and the fort
" of

" of Telmessium, and the lands which had belonged
 " to Ptolemy of Telmessus; these were withheld
 " from both Eumenes and the Rhodians. To the
 " latter was given also that part of Caria which lies
 " beyond the river Mæander nearest to the island
 " of Rhodes, with its towns, villages, forts, and
 " lands, extending to Pisidia, excepting those towns
 " which had been in a state of freedom on the day
 " before that of the battle with Antiochus." The
 Rhodians, after returning thanks for these favours,
 mentioned the city of Soli in Cilicia, " the inha-
 " bitants of which," they said, " as well as them-
 " selves, derived their origin from Argos; and, in
 " consequence of this fraternal relation, a brotherly
 " affection subsisted between the two states, and
 " therefore requested the senate, as an extraordinary
 " favour, to exempt that city from subjection to the
 " king." The ambassadors of king Antiochus were
 called in, and the matter was proposed to them, but
 their consent could not be obtained; Antipater ap-
 pealing to the treaty, in opposition to which, the
 Rhodians were striving to become masters, not only
 of the city of Soli, but of all Cilicia, and to pass be-
 yond the summits of Taurus. The Rhodians were
 called again before the senate, and the Fathers, after
 acquainting them how earnestly the king's ambassa-
 dors opposed the measure, added, that, " if the Rho-
 " dians were of opinion that the affair was particu-
 " larly interesting to the dignity of their state, they
 " would use every means to overcome the obsti-
 " nacy of the ambassadors." Hereupon the Rho-
 dians, with greater warmth than before, testified their
 gratitude, and declared, that they would rather give
 way to the arrogance of Antipater, than afford any
 reason for disturbing the peace. So no change was
 made with respect to Soli.

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LVII. DURING the time of these transactions
 intelligence was brought, by messengers from Mar-

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seilles, that Lucius Bæbius, the prætor, on his way into his province of Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians, great part of his retinue slain, and himself wounded; that he had made his escape, without his listors, and with but few attendants, to Marseilles, and in three days after expired. The senate, on hearing of this misfortune, decreed, that Publius Junius Brutus, who was proprætor in Etruria, should leave the command of the province and army to one of his lieutenant-generals, which-ever he chose, and go himself into farther Spain, which should be his province. This decree, accompanied with a letter, the prætor, Spurius Postumius, sent into Etruria, and Publius Junius Brutus, the proprætor, set out accordingly for Spain. But long before the new governor's arrival in that province, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who afterwards, with great glory, conquered king Perses, though his efforts had been unsuccessful the year before, hastily collected a body of troops, and fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. The enemy were routed, and put to flight; eighteen thousand of their soldiers killed, three thousand three hundred taken, and their camp stormed. This victory contributed much to tranquillize affairs in Spain. During the same year, on the third day before the calends of January, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Lucius Valerius Tappus, triumvirs, pursuant to a decree of senate, settled a Latine colony at Bononia. The number of the settlers was three thousand men. Seventy acres were given to each horseman, fifty to each of the other colonists. The land had been taken from the Boian Gauls, who had formerly expelled the Tuscans.

LVIII. THERE were many candidates for the censorship, this year, all of them men of illustrious characters; and this business, as if it were not, in itself, sufficient to excite dispute enough, gave rise to another

other contest of a much more violent nature. The candidates were, Titus Quintius Flaminius, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians at Thermopylæ. The general favour inclined chiefly to this last; because he had been liberal of his largesses, and had, thereby, attached great numbers to his interest. As it was a severe mortification to so many of the nobility to see a new man preferred so far before them, Publius Sempronius Gracchus, and Caius Sempronius Rutilus, plebeian tribunes, commenced a prosecution against him, on a charge, that he had neither exhibited in his triumph, nor lodged in the treasury, a large part of the royal treasure, and of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus. The depositions of the lieutenant-generals and military tribunes varied. Beyond all the other witnesses Marcus Cato was remarkable; but the deference due to his assertions, from the constant tenor of his life, was greatly impaired by the circumstance of his being himself a candidate. On being examined, he affirmed, that he had not seen, in the triumph, the gold and silver vessels which, on the taking of the camp, he had seen among the other spoils of the king. At last, Glabrio declared, that he declined the election, and that chiefly with the view of reflecting discredit on Cato; since, what men of noble families resented, in silence, he, a competitor, whose pretensions to nobility were no higher than his own, endeavoured to counterwork him by perjury, so atrocious, that no fine could be adequate to its guilt. The fine which his prosecutors proposed to have inflicted was an hundred thousand asces*; and this point was twice argued, but, at a third hearing, as the accused had declined the election, and the people were unwilling to vote

* 322 l. 223. 4 d.

BOOK about the fine, the tribunes, also, dropped the business. The censors elected were, Titus Quintius
XXXVII. Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.
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LIX. AT the same time, Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who, at the head of the Roman fleet, had defeated that of king Antiochus, had audience of the senate in the temple of Apollo, outside the city; and, after hearing the recital of his services, what numerous fleets of the enemy he had fought, how many of their ships he had sunk and taken, they unanimously voted him a naval triumph. He triumphed on the calends of February. In this procession were carried forty-nine golden crowns; but the quantity of money was not near so great as might be expected in a triumph over a king, being only thirty-four thousand seven hundred Attic tetradrachms*, and one hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred cistophoruses†. Supplications were then performed, by order of the senate, in consideration of the successful services, to the state, achieved in Spain by Lucius Æmilius Paulus. Not long after, Lucius Scipio arrived at the city; and, that he might be equal to his brother in point of a surname, he chose to be called Asiaticus. He recited his services before both the senate and a general assembly. There were some who imagined that war to be magnified in the representation beyond its real importance; for it was terminated, entirely, by one memorable engagement; and, of the glory acquired there, a share was due to those who conquered, before, at Thermopylæ. But, to any person, judging impartially, it must appear, that the fight at Thermopylæ was with the Ætolians, rather than with the king. For how small a portion of his own strength did Antiochus employ in that battle? whereas, in the other, in Asia, the strength of the whole Asiatic

* 4482l. 1s. 8d.

† About 2260l.

continent stood combined; for he had collected auxiliaries of all nations from the remotest quarters of the east. With good reason, therefore, the greatest possible honours were paid to the immortal gods, for having rendered a most important victory easy in the acquisition; and a triumph was decreed to the commander. He triumphed in the intercalary month, the day before the calends of March; but his triumph, though, in the magnificence of the procession, superior to that of his brother Africanus, yet, when one recollects the exploits on which they were grounded, and estimates the dangers and difficulties surmounted, it was no more to be compared to it, than one general to the other, or Antiochus, as a commander, to Hannibal. He carried, in his triumph, military standards, two hundred and thirty-four; models of towns, one hundred and thirty-four; elephants teeth, one thousand two hundred and twenty; crowns of gold, two hundred and twenty-four; pounds weight of silver, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty; Attic tetradrachms, two hundred and twenty-four thousand*; cistophoruses, three hundred and thirty-one thousand and seventy†; gold pieces called Philippics, one hundred and forty thousand‡; silver vases, all engraved, to the amount of one thousand four hundred and twenty-four pounds weight; of golden vases, one thousand and twenty-four pounds weight; and of the king's generals, governors, and principal courtiers, thirty-two, were led before his chariot. He gave to his soldiers twenty-five denariuses§ each; double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. And after the triumph, their pay and allowance of corn were doubled. He had already doubled them after the battle in Asia. His triumph was celebrated about a year after the expiration of his consulship.

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* 28,934 l. 6 s. 8 d.

† 5599 l. 8 s. 5 d.

‡ 77,629 l. 3 s. 4 d.

§ 26 s. 1 1/4 d.

LX. CNEIUS MANLIUS, consul, arrived in Asia, and Quintus Fabius Labeo, prætor, at the fleet, nearly at the same time. The consul did not want reasons for employing his arms against the Gauls; but, at sea, since the final defeat of Antiochus, all was quiet. Fabius, therefore, turned his thoughts to consider what employment he should undertake, that he might not appear to have held a province where nothing was to be done; and he could discover no better plan than to sail over to the island of Crete. The Cydonians were engaged in war against the Gortynians and Gnoſſians; and it was reported, that there were a great number of Roman and other Italian captives, in slavery, in various parts of the island. Having sailed with the fleet from Ephesus, as soon as he touched the shore of Crete, he dispatched orders to all the states to cease from hostilities, and, each of them, to search for the captives in its own cities and territory, and bring them to him; also, to send ambassadors to him, to treat of matters which equally concerned the Romans and Cretans. The Cretans took little notice of his message. Excepting the Gortynians, none of them restored the captives. Valerius Antias writes, that there were restored, out of the whole island, no less than four thousand captives, in consequence of the fears excited by his threats of a war; and that this was deemed a sufficient reason for Fabius obtaining from the senate a naval triumph, although he performed no other business. From Crete he returned to Ephesus, and dispatched thence three ships to the coast of Thrace, with orders to remove the garrisons of Antiochus from Ænos and Maronea, that these cities might be left at liberty.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

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Marcus Fulvius, consul, receives the surrender of Ambracin, in Epirus; subdues Cephalenia; grants peace to the Ætolians. His colleague, Manlius, subdues the Gallogrecians, Tolisoboians, Teëtisagians, and Trœcmians. A census held, in which the number of Roman citizens is found to amount to two hundred and fifty eight thousand three hundred and twenty-eight. Treaty of friendship with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Manlius triumphs over the Gallogrecians. Scipio Africanus, prosecuted by the plebeian tribunes, on a charge of embezzling the public money, goes into voluntary exile at Liternum. Whether he died there, or at Rome, is uncertain, monuments to his memory being erected in both places. Scipio Asiaticus, charged with the like crime, convicted, and ordered to prison, is enlarged by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, hitherto at enmity with him. His property being found unequal to the discharge of his fine, his friends raise it by a contribution amongst themselves, which he refuses.

I. **W**HILE the war raged in Asia, Ætolia was not free from commotions, which took their first rise from the nation of the Athamanians. At that period, since the expulsion of Amynder, Athamania was kept in subjection by royal garrisons, under governors appointed by Philip, who, by their haughty and overbearing conduct in command, had made

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made the people regret the loss of Amynder. Amynder, then in exile in Ætolia, from the letters of his friends, which discovered the condition of Athamania, conceived hopes of recovering his throne, and sent persons to Argitheia, the metropolis of Athamania, to inform the principal men, that, if they were sufficiently assured of the inclinations of their countrymen, he would obtain succours from the Ætolians, and come into Athamania with the select council of that nation, and their prætor, Nicander; and learning that they were ready for any undertaking, he gave them notice, from time to time, of the day on which he would enter Athamania at the head of an army. Four persons, at first, conspired against the Macedonian garrison; then each of these associated, with himself, six assistants, for the execution of the business, afterwards, thinking it unsafe to rely upon so small a number, which was rather calculated for the concealment, than for the execution, of the design, they took in a number of associates, equal to the former. Being thus increased to fifty-two, they divided themselves into four parties, one of which repaired to Heraclea, another to Tetraphylia, where the royal treasure used to be kept, a third to Theudoria, and the fourth to Argitheia. It was agreed among them all, that they should, at first, appear in the Forum, publicly, without any bustle, as if they had come about their own ordinary concerns; and then, on an appointed day, should raise the whole populace, to dislodge the Macedonian garrisons from the citadels. On the appointed day, Amynder appeared on the frontiers with a thousand Ætolians, when, as had been concerted, the Macedonian garrisons were expelled out of the four places at once: and letters were dispatched to the other cities, calling on them to rescue themselves from the exorbitant tyranny of Philip, and to reinstate their hereditary and lawful prince. Accordingly, the Macedonians were, every where, expelled.

expelled. The town of Theium, in consequence of the letters being intercepted by Teno, commander of the garrison, and the citadel being occupied by the king's troops, stood a siege of a few days, and then surrendered, as the rest had done, to Amynder, who had now all Athamania in his power, except the fort of Athenæum, on the borders of Macedonia.

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II. WHEN Philip heard of the defection of Athamania, he set out, at the head of six thousand men, and marched, with the utmost speed, to Gomphi. There, he left the greater part of his troops, as they would not have been equal to such long marches, and proceeded, with two thousand, to Athenæum, the only place of which his troops had kept the possession. From some trials, which he made on the nearest places, he clearly perceived, that all the rest of the country was hostile to him; returning, therefore, to Gomphi, he brought the whole of his force into Athamania. He then sent Zeno forward, at the head of one thousand foot, with orders to seize on Ethiopia, which stands advantageously for commanding Argitheia; and, as soon as he understood that his party were in possession of that post, he himself followed, and encamped near the temple of Acræan Jupiter. Here he was detained one whole day, by a tremendous storm; and, on the next, marched on towards Argitheia. The troops had but just begun to move, when they immediately descried the Athamanians, hastening to the hills which overlooked the road. On the sight of these, the foremost battalions halted, fear and confusion spread through the whole army, and every one began to consider what might have been the consequence, if the troops had gone down into the vallies commanded by those cliffs. The king, who wished, if his men would follow him, to push on rapidly through the defile, was obliged, by the confusion that prevailed among

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them, to call back the foremost, and return by the same road by which he came. The Athamanians, for some time, followed at a distance, without making any attempt; but, being joined by the Ætolians, they left these to harass the rear, while they themselves pressed forward on both flanks. Some of them, by taking a shorter way, through known paths, got before the enemy, and seized the passes; and with such dismay were the Macedonians struck, that they repassed the river in a manner more like a hasty flight, than a regular march, leaving behind many of their men and arms. Here the pursuit ended, and the Macedonians, without farther danger, returned to Gomphi, and from thence into Macedonia. The Athamanians and Ætolians ran together, from all sides, to Ethiopia, to crush Zeno and his thousand Macedonians; who, having little dependance on that post, removed to a hill, which was higher and steeper on all sides. But the Athamanians, making their way up, in several places, soon dislodged them; and, while they were dispersed, and unable to find the road, through a pathless and unknown country covered with rocks, slew many, and made many prisoners. Great numbers, in their panic, tumbled down the precipices; and a very few, with Zeno, effected their escape to the king. They were afterwards allowed liberty to bury the dead; for which purpose a suspension of arms was agreed to.

III. AMYNANDER, on recovering possession of his kingdom, sent ambassadors, both to the senate at Rome, and to the Scipios in Asia, who, since the grand battle with Antiochus, resided at Ephesus. He requested a treaty of amity, apologized for having had recourse to the Ætolians, for the recovery of his hereditary dominions, and made many charges against Philip. The Ætolians, from Athamania proceeded into Amphilochia, and, with the consent of

of the greater part of the inhabitants, reduced that whole nation under their power and dominion. After the recovery of Amphilochia, for it had formerly belonged to the Ætolians, they passed on, with hopes of equal success, into Aperantia, which, for the most part, surrendered likewise to the Ætolians without a contest. The Dolopians had never been subject to the Ætolians, but they were to Philip. These, at first, ran to arms; but, when they were informed of the Amphilochians taking part with the Ætolians, of Philip's flight out of Athamania, and the destruction of his detachment, they also revolted from Philip to the Ætolians. While these latter flattered themselves with being sufficiently secured against the Macedonians, as being screened on all sides by those states, they received the news of Antiochus being defeated in Asia, by the Romans; and, in a short time after, their ambassadors came home from Rome, not only without any prospect of peace, but also with intelligence, that the consul, Fulvius, with his army, had already crossed the sea. Dismayed at these accounts, they, first, sent ambassadors to solicit from Rhodes and Athens, hoping, through the influence of those states, that their petitions, lately rejected, might meet with a more favourable reception from the senate. And then they sent some of the chief men of their nation to Rome, to try the issue of their last hope, as they had taken no kind of precaution, to avert the war, until the enemy was almost within sight. Marcus Fulvius, having brought over his army to Apollonia, was, at this time, consulting with the Epirot chiefs, where he should commence his operations: these recommended it to him to attack Ambracia, which had lately united itself to Ætolia; alleging, that, "in case the Ætolians should come to its relief, there were open plains, all round it, to fight in; and, if they should avoid a battle, there would be no great difficulty in the siege, as there were at hand abundant materials

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BOOK " materials, for raising mounds and other works, and
 XXXVIII. " the Aretho, a navigable river, affording an easy
 Y.R. 563. " conveyance of every thing requisite, flowed by
 B.C. 189. " the walls; besides, the summer was just approach-
 " ing, the fittest season for the enterprise." By these
 arguments they persuaded him to march on, through
 Epirus.

IV. WHEN the consul came to Ambracia, he perceived that the siege would be a work of no small difficulty. Ambracia stands at the foot of a rocky hill, called by the natives Perranthe: the city, where the wall faces the plain and the river, is situated towards the west; the citadel, which is seated on the hill, towards the east. The river Aretho, which rises in Acarnania, falls here into a gulph of the sea, called the Ambracian, from the name of the adjacent city. Besides the place being strengthened, on one side, by the river, and on another by hills, it was encompassed with a firm wall, extending in circuit somewhat more than three miles, on the side opposite the plain. Fulvius formed two camps, at a moderate distance from each other, and one fort on the high ground opposite to the citadel; all which he intended to join together by a rampart and trench, in such a manner as to leave no passage for the besieged to go out of the city; or for any reinforcement from without to get in. The Ætolians, on the report of Ambracia being besieged, were, by this time, assembled at Stratum, in obedience to an edict of their prætor, Nicander. At first they intended to have marched hence, with their whole force, to raise the siege; but when they learned that the place was already, in a great measure, surrounded with works, and that the Epirots were encamped on level ground, at the other side of the river, they resolved to divide their forces. Eupolemus, with one thousand light troops, marching to Ambracia, made his way into the city, through
 6 openings,

openings, where the works were not yet joined. Nicander's first plan was, to have attacked the camp of the Epirots, in the night, with the rest of the troops, as it would not be easy for them to receive succour from the Romans, the river running between. This enterprize he, afterwards, judged too hazardous, lest the Romans might happen to discover it, and cut off his retreat. Being deterred by these considerations, from the prosecution of that design, he marched away to ravage the country of Acarnania.

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V. THE consul, having completed his works for the circumvallation of the city, and likewise those which were to be brought forward to the walls, formed five attacks, at once, against the place; three, at equal distances from each other, he directed against the quarter which they called Pyrrheum; to which, as it lay next the plain, the approach was the easier: one opposite to the temple of Æsculapius, and one against the citadel. He battered the walls with rams, and tore down the battlements with poles, armed at the end with hooks. At first, the formidable appearance of the works, and the shocks given to the walls, attended with a dreadful noise, filled the townsmen with terror and dismay. Afterwards, seeing, that, beyond their hopes, the walls still stood, they again resumed courage, and, by means of cranes, threw down upon the battering rams weighty masses of lead, or stone, or beams of timber; and catching the armed poles with iron grapples, drew them within the walls, and broke off the hooks; and besides, by sallies, both in the night against the watch-guards, and, in the day, against the advanced posts, they kept the besiegers in a state of continual alarm. While affairs at Ambracia were in this state, the Ætolians, having returned, from ravaging Acarnania, to Stratum, their prætor, Nicander, conceived hopes of raising the siege, by a

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bold effort. He sent a person, called Nicodamus, with five hundred Ætolians, with orders to get into Ambracia; and he fixed on a certain night, and even the hour of the night, when, from within the city, they were to assault the works of the enemy, opposite to the Pyrrheum, while he himself should alarm the Roman camp: and he trusted, that, in consequence of the tumult in both places at once, and of the night augmenting the enemy's fears, he might be able to effect something of importance. Nicodamus, during the dead of the night, having escaped the notice of some of the parties on watch, and broken through others, without halting, passed the intrenchment, and made his way into the city, which gave the besieged new hopes, and courage for any enterprize. As soon as the appointed night came, according to concert, he made a sudden assault on the works; but the attempt, though formidable at first, produced no great effect, there being no attack made from without: for the prætor of the Ætolians had either been deterred by fear, or had judged it more advisable to carry succours to Amphilochia, which had been lately reduced, and was now very vigorously besieged by Philip's son Perseus, sent by his father to recover Dolopia and Amphilochia.

VI. THE Romans, as has been mentioned, carried on their works against the Pyrrheum in three different places, all of which the Ætolians assaulted at once, but not with like weapons, or like force. Some advanced with burning torches, others carrying tow and pitch, and firebrands, so that their whole band appeared in a blaze of fire. Their first assault cut off many of the men on guard; but then, when the shout and uproar reached the camp, and the signal was given by the consul, the troops took arms, and poured out of all the gates to succour their friends. In one place, the contest was carried on with
fire

fire and sword; from the other two, the Ætolians retired with disappointment, after essaying, rather than supporting a fight; and the whole brunt of the battle fell on the one quarter with great fury. Here the two commanders, Eupolemus and Nicodamus, in their different posts, encouraged their men, and animated them with hope nearly certain, that Nicander would, according to his agreement, come up speedily, and attack the enemy's rear. This expectation, for some time, supported their courage in the fight: but, at last, as they did not receive the concerted signal from their friends, and saw the number of their enemies continually increasing, they slackened their efforts, considering themselves as deserted; and, in a short time, finally abandoned the attempt, when they could scarcely retreat with safety, and were obliged to fly into the city, after they had burned a part of the works, and killed a much greater number than they lost. If the affair had been conducted according to the plan concerted, there was no reason to doubt, but one part, at least, of the works might have been stormed with great havoc of the enemy. The Ambracians, and the Ætolians who were within, not only renounced the enterprize of that night, but, supposing themselves betrayed by their friends, became for the future less spirited in facing danger. None of them any longer sallied out, as before, against the enemy's posts, but standing on the walls and towers, they fought without danger.

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VII. PERSEUS, on hearing of the approach of the Ætolians, raised the siege of the city in which he was employed; and, having done nothing more than waste the country, quitted Amphilochia, and returned into Macedonia. The Ætolians, too, were called away thence by devastations committed on their coasts. Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, entered the Corinthian gulph with sixty barks, and being joined by the ships of the Achæans lying at Patræ, wasted

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the maritime parts of Ætolia. Against these were sent one thousand Ætolians, who, to whatever place the fleet steered round, by taking shorter roads, across the winding of the coasts, were ready there to oppose them. The Romans at Ambracia, by the battering of their rams in many places at once, laid open a great part of the city; but, nevertheless, were unable to penetrate into the body of the place. For no sooner was a part of the wall demolished, than a new wall was raised in its place, and the armed men, standing on the ruins, formed a kind of bulwark. The consul, therefore, finding that he made no progress by open force, resolved to form a secret mine, covering the ground first with his machines. For a long time his workmen, though employed both night and day, not only in digging under ground, but also in carrying away the earth, escaped the observation of the enemy. A heap of earth, rising suddenly, gave the townsmen the first intimation of the work, and, terrified, lest the wall should be already undermined, and a passage opened into the heart of the city, they drew a trench within the wall, opposite to the work that was covered with machines. They sunk this as deep as the bottom of the mine could be; then, keeping profound silence, they applied their ears to several different places, to catch the sound of the miners at work: no sooner was this heard, than they opened a way directly towards the mine, which did not require much labour, for they came in a moment to an open, where the wall was supported with props by the enemy. The works joining here, and the passage being open, from the trench to the mine, the parties began to fight in the dark under ground, at first with the tools which they had used in the works, but they were soon supported by armed men. The warmth, however, of this contest soon abated; for the besieged had it in their power, whenever they pleased, to stop the passage of the mine; sometimes by stretching

stretching strong hair-cloths across it, sometimes by hastily placing doors in the way of their antagonists. They also played off against those in the mine a contrivance of an unusual kind, which required no great labour. They took a large vessel, and bored a hole in its bottom sufficient to admit a pipe of a moderate size; in this they fixed an iron pipe, and put over the vessel a cover also of iron, perforated in many places: this vessel they filled with small feathers; and, turning the mouth of it towards the mine, through the holes in the covering, projected those long spears, which they call *sarissas*, to keep off the enemy. Then they put a small spark of fire among the feathers, which they kindled by blowing with a smith's bellows, inserted into the end of the pipe, and by this means filled the whole mine with smoke, which was not only thick, but so offensive, from the nauseous stench of the burnt feathers, that it was scarcely possible for any one to remain in the way of it.

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VIII. WHILE such was the situation of affairs, at Ambracia, Phæneas and Damoteles came to the consul, as ambassadors from the Ætolians, invested with full powers by a decree of the general assembly of that nation. For when their prætor saw, on one side, Ambracia besieged; on another, the sea-coast infested by the enemy's ships; on a third, Amphilochia and Dolopia ravaged by the Macedonians, and that the Ætolians were incapable of resisting the three enemies at once, he summoned a council, and demanded the judgment of the chiefs of the nation, on the measures to be pursued. The opinions of all tended to one point: that "peace must be obtained; " if possible, on easy terms; if not, on tolerable " ones. For having undertaken the war, relying on " the support of Antiochus, now that Antiochus " had been vanquished, on land and sea, and driven " beyond the mountains of Taurus, almost out of

“ the world, what hope remained of their being able to support it? Let Phœneas and Damoteles act to the best of their judgment, for the service of the Ætolians, in their present circumstances. But what room for counsel, what option had fortune left them?” The ambassadors, dispatched with these instructions, besought the consul to “ have mercy on the city, and to take compassion on a nation, once acknowledged as an ally; and, since, driven to desperation, they would not say, by ill-treatment, but undoubtedly by their sufferings. The Ætolians,” they said, “ had not, in the war with Antiochus, deserved a larger share of punishment, than they had of reward, in that against Philip; and as, in the last-mentioned case, the compensation made to them was not very liberal, neither ought their punishment now to be excessive.” To this the consul answered, that “ the Ætolians had often, indeed, sued for peace, but never with sincere intentions. Let them, in soliciting peace, imitate Antiochus, whom they had drawn into the war. He had ceded, not the few cities, whose liberty was the ground of the dispute, but an opulent kingdom, all Asia, on this side mount Taurus. That he would not listen to any overtures of peace from the Ætolians, until they laid down their arms. They must, in the first place, deliver up their arms, and all their horses; and then, pay one thousand talents* to the Roman people; half of which sum must be laid down immediately, if they wished for peace. To these articles he would add, in the treaty, that they must have the same allies, and the same enemies, as the Roman people.”

IX. THE ambassadors, considering these terms as very exorbitant, and knowing the ungovernable and

changeable tempers of their countrymen, made no reply, but returned home, that they might again, before any thing was concluded, receive the instructions of the prætor and council. They were received with clamour, and reproaches, for protracting the business; and commanded to bring with them a peace of some kind or other. But, as they were going back to Ambracia, they were caught in an ambuscade, laid, near the road, by the Acarnanians, with whom they were at war, and carried to Tyrreum, into confinement. This accident delayed the conclusion of a peace. The ambassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, who had come to mediate in their favour, were now with the consul; and Amynder also, king of Athamania, having obtained a safe conduct, came into the Roman camp, being more concerned for the city of Ambracia, where he had spent the greatest part of his exile, than for the nation of the Ætolians. When the consul was informed by them of the accident which had befallen the ambassadors, he ordered them to be brought from Tyrreum; and, on their arrival, the negotiations for peace were opened. Amynder, as that was his principal object, laboured assiduously to persuade the Ambracians to a capitulation. But, finding that he could not accomplish this, by coming under the walls, and conferring with their chiefs, he, at last, with the consul's permission, went into the city; where, partly by arguments, partly by entreaties, he prevailed on them to surrender themselves to the Romans. The Ætolians received also great assistance from the consul's uterine brother, Caius Valerius, the son of Lævinus, who was the first who had made a treaty of alliance with that nation. The Ambracians, having first stipulated that they might send away the auxiliary Ætolians in safety, opened their gates. The conditions then prescribed to the Ætolians were, that "they should pay
" five

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" five hundred Euboic talents*, two hundred at present, and three hundred at six equal annual payments; that they should deliver up to the Romans the prisoners and deserters; that they should not claim jurisdiction over any city, which, since the first coming of Titus Quintius into Greece, had either been taken by the arms of the Romans, or voluntarily entered into alliance with them; and that the island of Cephallenia should not be included in the treaty." Although these terms were more moderate than they themselves had expected, yet the Ætolians begged permission to lay them before the council, and their request was granted. The council spent some time in debating about the cities, which, having been once members of their state, they could not, without pain, bear to have torn off, as it were, from their body. However, they unanimously voted, that the terms of peace should be accepted. The Ambracians presented the consul with a golden crown of one hundred and fifty pounds weight. The brazen and marble statues with which Ambracia was more richly decorated than any other city in that country, as having been the royal residence of Pyrrhus, were all removed and carried away; but nothing else was injured, or even touched.

X. THE consul, marching from Ambracia into the interior parts of Ætolia, encamped at Amphilo-chian Argos, twenty-two miles from Ambracia. Here, at length, the Ætolian ambassadors, whose delay had surprised the consul, arrived. When they informed him that the council had approved the terms of peace, he ordered them to go to Rome to the senate; gave permission for the Athenian and Rhodian mediators to go with them; appointed

* About 96,000*l.*

his

his brother, Caius Valerius, to accompany them, and then he himself passed over to Cephallenia. The ambassadors found the ears and minds of all the principal people at Rome prepossessed by charges made against them by Philip, who had complained, both by ambassadors, and by letters, that Dolopia, Amphilochia, and Athamania, had been forcibly taken from him; that his garrison, and, at last, even his son Perseus, had been driven out of Amphilochia; and these accusations had predisposed the senate to refuse to listen to their intreaties. The Athamanians and Rhodians were, nevertheless, heard with attention. One of the Athenian ambassadors, Leon, son of Icesias, is said to have even affected them much by his eloquence. Making use of a common simile, and comparing the multitude of the Ætolians to a calm sea, when it comes to be ruffled by the winds, he said, that "as long as they faithfully adhered to the alliance with Rome, they rested in the calm state natural to the nation; but that, when Thoas and Dicaarchus began to blow from Asia, Menetas and Damocritus from Europe, then was raised that storm which dashed them on Antiochus as on a rock."

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XI. THE Ætolians, after long suspense and uncertainty, at length, prevailed to have articles of peace concluded. They were these:—"The Ætolian nation, without fraud or deceit, shall maintain the empire and majesty of the Roman people: they shall not suffer to pass through their territories, nor, in any manner whatever, aid nor assist any army that shall march against the allies and friends of the Romans: they shall have the same enemies as the Roman people; and they shall bear arms against them, and take a share in the war: they shall deliver up the deserters, fugitives, and prisoners, to the Romans and their allies, excepting such as, having been prisoners before, and returned

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“ returned home, were afterwards made prisoners
 “ again; and also such as, at the time of their being
 “ taken, were enemies to Rome, while the Ætolians
 “ acted in conjunction with the Romans: the others,
 “ as many as can be found, shall be delivered up,
 “ without fraud or deceit, to the magistrates of
 “ Corcyra, within one hundred days; and such as
 “ cannot now be found, are to be delivered up, each
 “ as soon as he shall be discovered: they shall give
 “ forty hostages to be chosen by the Roman consul,
 “ none younger than twelve years, or older than forty:
 “ neither the prætor, nor the general of the horse,
 “ nor the public secretary, shall be an hostage; nor
 “ any person who has, before, been an hostage in
 “ the hands of the Romans. Cephalenia not to
 “ be included in these articles.” With respect to
 the sum of money which they were to pay, and the
 mode of payment, no alteration was made in the
 arrangement settled by the consul. If they chose to
 give gold instead of silver, it was agreed that they
 might do so, provided that one piece of gold should
 be deemed equivalent to ten of silver of the same
 weight. “ Whatever cities, whatever lands, what-
 “ ever men, have been formerly under the jurisdic-
 “ tion of the Ætolians, and have, either in the con-
 “ sulate of Titus Quintius and Publius Ælius, or since
 “ their consulate, either been subdued by the arms of
 “ the Roman people, or made a voluntary submission
 “ to them; the Ætolians are not to reclaim any of
 “ these. The Ænians, with their city and lands,
 “ are to belong to the Acarnanians.” On these
 conditions was the treaty concluded with the Æto-
 lians.

XII. DURING the same summer, and even at the
 very time, when the consul, Marcus Fulvius, was
 thus employed in Ætolia, the other consul, Cneius
 Manlius, carried on war in Gallogræcia; the pro-
 gress of which I shall now relate. At the first open-
 ing

ing of spring he came to Ephesus, and having received the command of the army from Lucius Scipio, and purified the troops, he made an harangue to the soldiers, in which he praised their bravery in having completely conquered Antiochus in a single battle. He then encouraged them to undertake, with spirit, a new war against the Gauls, who had supported Antiochus as auxiliaries; and were, besides, of such untractable tempers, that the removing Antiochus beyond the mountains of Taurus, would answer no purpose, unless the power of the Gauls were reduced. He then spoke briefly of himself, in terms neither ill-grounded nor extravagant. They listened to his discourse with much satisfaction, and universally applauded it; for, considering the Gauls as having been a part of the strength of Antiochus, they thought, that, since that king had been vanquished, the forces of the Gauls, by themselves, would be an easy conquest. The absence of Eumenes, who was then at Rome, seemed, to the consul, an unreasonable circumstance, as he was well acquainted with the nature of the country and of the inhabitants; and also, as his own interest must make him wish to crush the power of the Gauls. He therefore sent for his brother Attalus, from Pergamus, whom he persuaded to join in undertaking the war; and Attalus, having promised his own assistance, and that of his countrymen, was sent home to make the necessary preparations. A few days after that the consul began his march from Ephesus, and, at Magnesia, Attalus met him, with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, having ordered his brother Athenæus to follow with the rest of the forces, and committed the care of Pergamus to persons whom he knew to be faithful to his brother, and to his government. The consul highly commended the young prince, and advancing with all his forces, encamped on the bank of the Mæander; for that river not being fordable, it was necessary

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necessary to collect shipping for carrying over the army.

XIII. HAVING passed the Mæander, they came to Hiera Come *. In this place there is a magnificent temple, and an oracle of Apollo, where the prophets are said to give their responses in not inelegant verses. From hence, in two days march, they came to the river Harpasus; whither came ambassadors from the Alabandians, intreating the consul, either by his authority, or his arms, to compel a fort, which had lately revolted from them, to return to its former allegiance. At the same place he was joined by Athenæus, the brother of Eumenes, and Attalus, with Leusus, a Cretan, and Corragos, a Macedonian commander. They brought with them, of various nations, one thousand foot and three hundred horse. The consul detached a military tribune, with a small party, who retook the fort by assault, and restored it to the Alabandians. He himself did not quit his own route, but went on to Antiochia, on the Mæander, where he pitched his camp. The source of this river rises in Celænzæ, which city was formerly the metropolis of Phrygia. The inhabitants, afterwards, removed to a spot not far distant from Old Celænzæ, and gave their new city the name of Apamea, from Apamea, the wife of king Seleucus. The river Marfyas, also, rising at a little distance from the head of the Mæander, falls into the latter river, and the general opinion is, that, at Celænzæ, happened the contest between Marfyas and Apollo in playing on the flute. The Mæander, springing up in the highest part of the citadel of Celænzæ, runs down through the middle of the city, then through Caria, afterwards through Ionia, and empties itself into a bay which lies between Pri-

* Holy Town.

ene and Miletus. Seleucus, son of Antiochus, came into the consul's camp, at Antiochia, to furnish corn for the troops, in conformity to the treaty with Scipio. Here, a small dispute arose, concerning the auxiliary troops of Attalus; for Seleucus affirmed, that the engagement of Antiochus went no farther than the supplying of corn to the Roman soldiers. This difference was soon terminated by the firmness of the consul, who sent a tribune, with orders, that the Roman soldiers should receive none, until the auxiliaries, under Attalus, should have received their share. From hence the army advanced to Gordiutichos*, as it is called; from which place it marched, in three days, to Tabæ. This city stands on the confines of Pisidia, on the side opposite the Pamphylian sea. Before the strength of that country was reduced, its inhabitants had been remarkable, as valiant warriors; and even on this occasion, their horsemen, sallying out on the Roman troops, caused, by their first onset, no small confusion; but soon finding themselves overmatched both in number and bravery, they fled into the city, on which the townsmen, begging pardon for their transgressions, offered to surrender the place. They were ordered to pay twenty-five talents of silver†, and ten thousand bushels of wheat; and on these terms their surrender was accepted.

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XIV. On the third day after their leaving this place, the army reached the river Chaos, and proceeding thence, took the city of Eriza at the first assault. They then came to Thabusios, a fort standing on the bank of the river Indus, so called from an Indian thrown into it from an elephant. They were now not far from Cibyra, yet no embassy appeared from Moagetes, the tyrant of that state; a man, whose conduct, in every circumstance, was

* The Gordian wall.

† 48+31. 158.

branded with infidelity and injustice. The consul, in order to sound his intentions, sent forward Caius Helvius, with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. When this party entered his frontiers, they were met by ambassadors, who declared that the tyrant was willing to submit to their orders, and intreated Helvius to pass through the country without hostilities, and to restrain his soldiers from plundering the country; and they brought with them, in lieu of a golden crown, fifteen talents. Helvius promised to protect the country from being plundered, and ordered the ambassadors to go on to the consul. On their delivering the same message to the consul, he answered, "We, Romans, see no sign of the tyrant having any good will towards us; and we are decidedly of opinion, that such is his character; that we ought rather to think of punishing him, than of contracting friendship with him." Struck with astonishment at such a reception, the ambassadors confined their solicitations to a request, that he would accept the crown, and allow the tyrant permission to come before him, and vindicate his conduct. Having obtained the consul's leave, the tyrant came, next day, into the camp. His dress and retinue were in a style scarcely becoming a private person of moderate fortune; and his discourse was humble and incoherent, tending to diminish the idea of his wealth, being filled with complaints of his own poverty, and that of the cities in his dominions. He had under his dominion, beside Cibyra, Syleum, and the city called Alimne. Out of these he promised, but in such a manner as if he were diffident of his ability to accomplish it, by stripping himself and his subjects, to raise twenty-five talents*. "Such impudent imposture," said the consul, "is not to be endured. Was it not enough that you should, shamelessly, endeavour

* 4243 l. 153.

“ to impose upon us by your ambassadors, but you
 “ must now come in person to persist in the same
 “ daring falsehood. What! twenty-five talents will
 “ exhaust your dominions! If, within three days,
 “ you do not pay down five hundred talents*, ex-
 “ pect to see your lands wasted, and your city be-
 “ sieged.” Although terrified by this menace, yet
 he persisted obstinately in his plea of poverty; gra-
 dually advancing, however, with sordid reluctance,
 and sometimes cavilling; sometimes recurring to
 prayers and counterfeit tears, he was brought up to
 one hundred talents †, to which were added ten
 thousand bushels of corn. All this was done within
 six days.

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XV. FROM Cibra the army was led through
 the territory of the Sendians, and, after passing the
 river Caular, encamped. Next day they marched
 along the side of the lake of Caralis, and passed the
 night at Mandropolis. As they advanced thence
 to the next city, Lagos, the inhabitants fled through
 fear; and the place being found deserted, and filled
 with abundance of every thing, was pillaged by the
 soldiers. Thence they advanced, next day, by the
 head of the river Lysus to the river Cobularus. At
 this time the Termessians were besieging the citadel
 of the Isiondians, after having taken the city. The
 besieged, destitute of every other hope of relief,
 sent ambassadors to the consul, imploring succour;
 adding, that, “ being shut up in the citadel, with
 “ their wives and children, they were in daily ex-
 “ pectation of perishing, either by the sword or fa-
 “ mine.” The consul was well pleased at an oc-
 casion offering for turning aside to Pamphylia. His
 approach raised the siege of Isionda. He granted
 peace to Termessus on receiving fifty talents ‡; and,
 likewise, to the Aspendians, and other states of Pam-

* 96,375 l.

† 19,375 l.

‡ 9687 l. 10 s.

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phytia. In his return out of that country he pitched his camp, the first day, at the river Taurus, and the second, at Come Xylene *, as they call it. Departing from which, he proceeded, by uninterrupted marches, to the city of Cormasa. The next city was Darfa, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants through fear, and plentifully stored with every thing. As he marched thence along the morasses, he was met by ambassadors from Lyfinoe with the surrender of that state. He then came into the Sagalassenian territory, rich and fertile of every kind of production. The inhabitants are Pisidians, the best soldiers, by far, of any in that part of the world. This circumstance, together with the fertility of their soil, the multitude of their people, and the situation of their city, which is stronger than most others, gave them boldness. The consul, as no embassy attended him on the frontiers, sent a party to ravage the country; and this overcame their obstinacy, when they saw their effects carried and driven away. They then sent ambassadors; and, on their agreeing to pay fifty talents, with twenty thousand bushels of wheat and twenty thousand of barley, they obtained peace. The consul marched thence to the source of the Obrima, and encamped at a village called Comi Aporidos. To this place Seleucus came, next day, from Apamea. From thence the sick, and the useless baggage, were sent to Apamea; and the army, being furnished with guides by Seleucus, and marching that day into the plain of Metropolis, advanced, on the day following, to Dinia in Phrygia, and thence to Synnas; all the towns on every side being deserted by the inhabitants through fear. The spoil of these overloaded the army, and retarded its motion so much, that it scarcely made out a march of five miles in a whole day, and reached the town called Old Beudi. Next day it encamped at Ana-

* The wood town.

bura;

bura; on the day after, at the source of the Alander, and on the third at Abassus, where it lay for several days, being now arrived at the borders of the Tolistoboians.

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XVI. THESE Gauls, in a very numerous body, quitting their native country, under the conduct of Brennus, either through hopes of plunder, or in consequence of a scarcity of land; and, thinking that no nation through which they were to pass would be a match for them in arms; made their way into Dardania. There a dissension arose, and twenty thousand of them, under the chieftains Leonorius and Lutarius, separating from Brennus, turned their route to Thrace. As they went along, they fought with such as resisted them, imposed a tribute on such as sued for peace, and, arriving at Byzantium, held possession, for a long time, of the cities in that quarter, and laid the coast of the Propontis under contribution. They were afterwards seized by a desire of passing over into Asia, from the accounts which they heard, in its neighbourhood, of the great fruitfulness of its lands; and, having taken Lysimachia by treachery, and possessed themselves of the whole Chersonesus by force of arms, they went down to the Hellespont. When they there beheld Asia on the other side of a narrow streight, their wishes to pass into it were much more highly inflamed, and they dispatched envoys to Antipater, governor of that coast, to adjust matters relating to their passage. But this business being protracted to a greater length than they expected, a new dissension broke out between their chieftains; in consequence of which, Leonorius, with the greater part of the people, went back to Byzantium, whence they came; and Lutarius, having taken from some Macedonians, sent by Antipater as spies, under the pretext of an embassy, two decked ships and three barks, employed these in carrying over one division after another,

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other, by day or by night, until, within a few days, he had transported his whole army. Not long after, Leonorius, with the assistance of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, passed over from Byzantium. The Gauls then reunited their forces, and assisted Nicomedes in a war which he was carrying on against Zyboea, who held possession of a part of Bithynia. By their assistance, chiefly, Zyboea was subdued, and the whole of Bithynia reduced under the dominion of Nicomedes. Then, leaving Bithynia, they advanced into Asia; and, although, of their twenty thousand men, not more than ten carried arms, yet, such a degree of terror did they strike into all the natives, dwelling on this side of Taurus, that those which they visited, and those which they did not visit, the remotest as well as the nearest, submitted to their authority. At length, as there were three tribes of them, the Tolistoboians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosagians, they made a division of Asia into three provinces, according to which the contributions imposed upon them were to be paid to each of their states respectively. The coast of the Hellespont was assigned to the Trocmians; Ionia and Æolia were allotted to the Tolistoboians, and the inland parts of Asia to the Tectosagians. They levied tribute throughout every part of Asia, but chose their own residence on the banks of the river Halys; and so great was the terror of their name, their numbers, too, increasing by a rapid population, that, at last, even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants of Asia, who ventured a refusal, was Attalus, the father of king Eumenes; and, beyond the expectation of all, fortune favoured his bold resolution. He defeated them in a pitched battle; yet he did not so effectually break their spirits, as to make them give up their pretensions to empire. Their power continued the same until the war between Antiochus and the Romans; and, even then, after Antiochus

was

was expelled the country, they still entertained a hope, that, as they lived remote from the sea, the Roman army would not come so far.

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XVII. As the troops were about to act against this enemy, so terrible to all in that part of the world, the consul, calling the soldiers to an assembly, addressed them to this effect: "Soldiers, It is not unknown to me, that, of all the nations inhabiting Asia, the Gauls have the highest reputation as soldiers. A fierce nation, after overrunning the face of the earth with its arms, has fixed its abode in the midst of a race of men the gentlest in the world. Their tall persons, their long red hair, their vast shields, and swords of enormous length; their songs, also, when they are advancing to action, their yells and dances, and the horrid clashing of their armour, while they brandish their shields in a peculiar manner, practised in their original country; all these are circumstances calculated to strike terror. But let Greeks, and Phrygians, and Carians, who are unaccustomed to, and unacquainted with, these things, be frightened by such; the Romans, long acquainted with Gallic tumults, have learned the emptiness of their parade. Once, indeed, in an early period, they defeated our ancestors in the first onset at the Allia. Ever since that time, for, now, two hundred years, the Romans drive them before them, and kill them, like cattle, in dismay; and there have been more triumphs celebrated over the Gauls, than over almost all the rest of the world. It is now well known, by experience, that if you sustain their first onset, which they make with fiery eagerness and blind fury, their limbs are unnerved with sweat and fatigue; their arms flag, and, though you should not employ a weapon on them, the sun, dust, and thirst, sink their enervate bodies, and their minds, no less enervate, when
" their

B O O K " their fury once subsides. We have tried them
 XXXVIII. " not only with our legions against theirs, but in
 Y.R. 563. " single combat, man to man. Titus Manlius and
 B. C. 189. " Marcus Valerius have demonstrated how far Ro-
 " man valour surpasses Gallic fury. Marcus Man-
 " lius, singly, pushed down the Gauls who were
 " mounting the Capitol in a body. And those, our
 " forefathers, had to deal with genuine Gauls, born
 " in their own land. These here are now degene-
 " rate, a mongrel race, and, in reality, what they
 " are named, Gallogrecians; just as is the case of
 " vegetables and cattle; the seeds are not so effica-
 " cious for preserving their native constitution, as
 " the properties of the soil and climate, in which
 " they are reared, towards altering it. The Mace-
 " donians who settled at Alexandria in Egypt, or in
 " Seleucia, or Babylonia, or in any other of their
 " colonies scattered over the world, have degene-
 " rated into Syrians, Parthians, or Egyptians. Mar-
 " seilles, by being situated in the midst of Gauls,
 " has contracted somewhat of the disposition of its
 " adjoining neighbours. What trace do the Ta-
 " rentines retain of the hardy rugged discipline of
 " Sparta? Every thing that grows in its own na-
 " tural soil attains the greater perfection; whatever
 " is planted in a foreign land, by a gradual change
 " in its nature, degenerates into a similitude to that
 " which supplies it nurture. You will therefore
 " fight with men whom you have already van-
 " quished and cut to pieces: those Phrygians, en-
 " cumbered with Gallic armour, as you did before
 " in the battle with Antiochus. I rather fear that
 " they will not give us opposition enough to do
 " honour to our victory, than that they will give
 " us too much. King Attalus often routed and put
 " them to flight. Do not imagine that brutes alone
 " retain, for a time, after being taken, their natural
 " savage ferocity; but, after being long fed by the
 " hands of men, grow tame, and that Nature does
 " not

"not act in the same manner, in softening the sa-
 "vage tempers of men. Do you believe these to
 "be the same kind of men that their fathers and
 "grandfathers were? Driven from home by want
 "of land, they marched through the craggy coast
 "of Illyricum; then fought their way, against the
 "fiercest nations, through the whole length of Pæ-
 "onia and Thrace, and took possession of these
 "countries. After being hardened and soured, by
 "so great hardships, they gained admittance here,
 "into a country capable of glutting them with an
 "abundance of every thing desirable. By the very
 "great fertility of the soil, the very great mildness
 "of the climate, and the gentle dispositions of the
 "neighbouring nations, all that savage fierceness,
 "which they brought with them, has been quite mol-
 "lified. As for you, who are sons of Mars, believe
 "me, you ought, from the very beginning, to
 "guard against, and shun, above all things, the
 "enticing delights of Asia; so great is the power
 "of those foreign pleasures in extinguishing the
 "vigour of the mind, so strong the contagion from
 "the discipline and manners of the people about
 "you. One thing has happened fortunately; that,
 "though they will not bring against you a degree
 "of strength by any means equal to what they for-
 "merly possessed; yet they still retain a character
 "among the Greeks equal to what they had at their
 "first coming: consequently, you will acquire, by
 "conquering them, as high renown among the al-
 "lies for military prowess, as if, when you con-
 "quered, the Gauls had kept up to their antient
 "standard of courage."

XVIII. He then dismissed the assembly; and,
 having dispatched ambassadors to Epistognatus, who
 alone, of all the petty princes, had remained in friend-
 ship with Eumenes, and refused to assist Antiochus
 against the Romans, proceeded on his march. He

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came, the first day, to the river Alander, and the next to a village called Tyseos. Here he was met by ambassadors from the Oroandians, begging to be admitted into friendship. He ordered them to pay two hundred talents*; and, on their requesting liberty to report that matter at home, gave them permission. He then led the army to Plitendos, and, proceeding thence, encamped at Alyatti. The persons sent to Epissognatus returned to him here, and with them ambassadors from that chieftain, who intreated him not to make war on the Tolistoboians, for Epissognatus himself would go among that people and persuade them to submission. This request of the prince was complied with. The army then marched through the country called Axylos†, which name was given from the nature of the place, being entirely destitute not only of timber, but even of brambles, or any species of firewood. The inhabitants, instead of wood, use cow-dung. While the Romans were encamped at Cuballum, a sort of Gallogræcia, a party of the enemy's cavalry appeared, advancing with great fury. And they not only disordered, by their sudden charge, the advanced guards of the Romans, but killed several of the men. No sooner, however, did the uproar reach the camp, than the Roman cavalry, pouring out hastily through all the gates, routed and dispersed the Gauls, killing many as they fled. The consul now, perceiving that he had reached the enemy's country, took care, for the future, to explore the ground through which his route led, and keep a proper guard on his rear. Having, by continued marches, arrived at the river Sangarius, he set about constructing a bridge, no passable ford being any where found. The Sangarius, running from the mountain of Adoreos, through Phrygia, joins the river Thymbris at the confines of Bithynia. After doubling its quantity of water by this

* 38,750 l.

† Woodless.

junction,

junction, it proceeds, in a more copious stream, through Bithynia, and empties itself into the Euxine sea. Yet it is not so remarkable for the size of its current, as for the vast quantity of fish which it supplies to the people in its vicinity. When the bridge was finished, and the army had passed the river, as they were marching along the bank, they were met by the Gallic priests of the Great Mother, from Pessinus, with the symbols of their office; who, in rhymes, which they chaunted as if they were inspired, foretold, that the goddess would grant the Romans a safe passage, success in the war, and the empire over that country. The consul, saying that he embraced the omen, pitched his camp on that very spot. On the following day, he arrived at Gordium. This town, though not very large, is a celebrated and well frequented mart, exceeding, in that respect, most other inland places. It has the advantage of three seas, nearly equidistant from it; that at Hellepontus, that at Sinope, and that on the opposite coast of Cilicia. It is also contiguous to the borders of many and great nations, the commerce of which, mutual convenience caused to centre, principally, in this place. The Romans then found the town deserted by the inhabitants through fear, and, at the same time, filled with plenty of every thing. While they halted here, ambassadors came from Epissognatus, with information, that "he had applied to the petty princes of the Gauls, but could not bring them to reason: that they were removing in crowds from the villages and lands in the open country; and, with their wives and children, carrying and driving whatever could be carried or driven, were going to mount Olympus, where they hoped to defend themselves by their arms and the nature of the ground."

XIX. DEPUTIES from the Oroandians brought, afterwards, more particular intelligence: that "the

“state of the Tolistoboians had seized mount Olympus, but that the Tectosagians, taking a different route, were gone to another mountain, called Magaba; and that the Trocmians, leaving their wives and children in charge with the Tectosagians, had resolved to carry their armed force to the assistance of the Tolistoboians.” The chieftains of the three states, at that time, were Ortiagon, Combolemarus, and Gaulotus; and their principal reason for choosing this mode of conducting the war, was, that, as they had possession of the highest mountains in that part of the world, and had conveyed thither stores of every kind, sufficient for their consumption during a long time, they thought that the enemy would be wearied out by the tediousness of the enterprise: being fully persuaded, that “they would never venture to climb over places so steep and uneven; that if such an attempt should be made, a small number would be able to repulse and drive them down; and that they never could bring themselves to sit inactive, at the foot of bleak mountains, exposed to cold and hunger.” Although the height of their posts was, in itself, a strong defence, yet they drew, besides, a trench and other fortifications round the summits which they occupied. The least part of their care was employed in providing a stock of missile weapons; for they trusted that the rocky ground itself would furnish stones in abundance.

XX. THE consul, having foreseen that his men could not come to a close engagement, but must fight at a distance, in the attack of the enemy's posts, had prepared an immense quantity of javelins, light-infantry spears, arrows, balls of lead, and small stones, fit to be thrown with slings; and, furnished with this stock of missile weapons, he marched towards mount Olympus, and encamped within five miles of it. Next day, accompanied by Attalus, he advanced,

advanced, with an escort of four hundred horse, to examine the nature of the mountain, and situation of the camp of the Gauls; but a party of the enemy's cavalry, double in number to his, sallying out of the camp, obliged them to retire. He even lost some men in the retreat, and had more wounded. On the third day he went out to make his observations, at the head of all his cavalry; and none of the enemy coming out beyond their fortifications, he rode round the mountain with safety. He saw that, on the south side, the hills were composed of earth, and rose to a certain height, with a gentle slope, but that, on the north, there was nothing but steep and almost perpendicular cliffs; and that there were but three ways through which the troops could ascend; one at the middle of the mountain, where the ground was earthy, and two others, both very difficult, one on the south-east, and the other on the north-west. After taking a full view of all these places, he pitched his camp, that day, close to the foot of the mountain. On the day following, after offering sacrifice, in which the first victims afforded the desired omens, he advanced against the enemy with his army in three divisions. He himself, with the greatest part of the forces, marched up where the mountain afforded the easiest ascent. He ordered his brother, Lucius Manlius, to mount on the south-east side, as far as the ground allowed him to ascend with safety; but, if he should meet such precipices as he could not surmount without danger, then, not to contend with the unfavourable nature of the place, or attempt to conquer obstacles insuperable, but to come sloping across the mountain towards him, and join the body under his command; and he directed Caius Helvius, with the third division, to march round, leisurely, by the foot of the mountain, and to climb the hill on the north-east. The auxiliary troops of Attalus he distributed equally among the three divisions, ordering the young prince to accompany

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company them himself. The cavalry and elephants he left in the plain, at the foot of the hills, charging the commanding officers, to watch attentively every thing that should happen, and to be expeditious in bringing succour wherever circumstances should require.

XXI. THE Gauls, thoroughly satisfied that the ground on their two flanks was impassable, in order to secure, by arms, the ascent on the south side, sent about four thousand soldiers to keep possession of a hill which hung over the road, at the distance of near a mile from their camp; hoping that this would serve as a fortress, to stop the enemy's progress. On seeing this, the Romans prepared for the fight. The light-infantry advanced, at a small distance, in the front of the line; and, of Attalus's troops, the Cretan archers and slingers, the Trallians and Thracians, The battalions of infantry, as the ground was steep, marched at a slow pace, holding their shields before them, merely to ward off missile weapons, for there was no likelihood of a close engagement. As soon as they came within reach, the fight commenced with the missile weapons, and continued for a short time equal; the Gauls having the advantage in situation, the Romans in variety and plenty of weapons. But, as the contest advanced, this equality was soon lost: the Gauls carried long shields, but too narrow for the breadth of their bodies; and even these were flat, and therefore afforded but a bad defence. Besides, in a little time they had no weapon except swords, which, as the enemy did not come close, were useless. They had nothing to throw but stones, and those not of a proper size, as they had laid in no store of such, but used whatever each, in his hurry and confusion, found next at hand; and then, being unused to this manner of fighting, they did not know how to aid the blow with either skill or strength. At the same time they were every where

where assailed with arrows, leaden balls, and darts; the approach of which they could not perceive, nor did they know what they were doing, so blinded were their minds by rage and fear together; and they found themselves engaged in a kind of fight, for which they were utterly unqualified. For, as in close fight, where they can receive and give wounds in turn, rage inflames their courage; so, when they are wounded at a distance, with light weapons from unknown hands, and have no object on which they can vent their blind fury, like wounded wild beasts, they rush, at random, upon their own party. Their wounds made the greater shew, because they always fight naked, and their bodies are plump and their skins white, being never stripped except in battle; consequently the blood flowed in the greater quantity from their corpulent bodies, the cuts appeared more shocking, and the whiteness of their skins made the black stains of the blood more conspicuous. But they were not so much affected by open wounds. Sometimes they even cut open the skin, when the wound was broader than deep, and thought that, in this condition, they fought with the greater glory. But when the point of an arrow, or a ball, sinking deep in the flesh, tormented them, while the wound was apparently slight, and notwithstanding all their endeavours to extract it, the weapon could not be got out, then they fell into fits of phrenzy and shame, at being destroyed by so small a hurt; and dashing their bodies on the ground, lay scattered over the place. Some rushing against the enemy, were overwhelmed with darts; and, when any of them came near, they were cut to pieces by the light-infantry with their swords. A soldier of this description carries a shield three feet long, and, in his right hand, javelins, which he throws at a distance. He has at his side a Spanish sword, and when he has occasion to fight close, he shifts the spears into his left hand, and draws his sword. There
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were few of the Gauls now left; and these, seeing themselves overpowered by the light-infantry, and the battalions of the legions advancing, fled in confusion to the camp; which, by this time, was full of tumult and dismay, as the women, children, and others, unfit to bear arms, were all crowded together there. The hills, thus abandoned by the flight of the enemy, were seized by the victorious Romans.

XXII. At this juncture, Lucius Manlius and Caius Helvius, having marched up as high as the sloping hills enabled them, and come to insuperable steep, turned towards that side of the mountain, where, only, the ascent was practicable; and began, as if by concert, to follow the consul's party at moderate distances; being driven by necessity to adopt the plan, now, which would have been the best at the beginning. For in such disadvantageous ground reserves have often been of the utmost use; as, should the first line happen to be repulsed, the second may both cover their retreat, and succeed fresh to their place in the fight. The consul, as soon as the vanguard of the legions reached the hills taken by the light-infantry, ordered the troops to halt, and take breath; at the same time he shewed them the bodies of the Gauls spread about the hills, asking them, "Since the light troops had fought such a battle, what might be expected from the legions, from a regular army, and from the spirit of the bravest soldiers? They ought certainly to take the camp into which the enemy had been driven by the light troops, especially, now, that they were in dismay." He then sent forward the light-infantry, who, while the army halted, had employed even that time to good purpose, in collecting weapons about the hills, that they might have a sufficient stock for the occasion. They now approached the camp, and the Gauls, not confiding in the strength of their works,

works, had posted themselves, in arms, on the outside of the rampart. They were assailed with a shower of weapons of every sort; and, as the more numerous they were, and the thicker they stood, the less apt was any weapon to fall without effect, they were driven in an instant into the camp, leaving only strong guards at the entrances of the gates. Against the crowd that fled into the camp a vast quantity of missile weapons were discharged, and the shouts, intermixed with lamentations of the women and children, shewed that great numbers were wounded. The first line of the legions hurled their javelins against the guards posted at the gates; however, these, in general, were not wounded, but most of them, having their shields pierced through, were entangled and fastened together, nor did they longer withstand the attack of the Romans.

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XXIII. The gates being now open, the Gauls, in order to escape, lest the conquerors should break in, fled out of the camp to all quarters. They rushed on, without looking before them, where there were roads, and where there were none, no craggy cliffs, nor even perpendicular rocks, stopped them, for they now feared nothing but the enemy. Great numbers, therefore, falling down precipices of vast height, were either maimed or killed. The consul, taking possession of the camp, restrained the soldiers from pillaging and plundering; ordering all to pursue with their utmost speed, to press on the enemy, and to increase their present panic. The other party, under Lucius Manlius, now came up; neither did he suffer them to enter the camp, but sent them forward in pursuit of the enemy; and, a little after, he himself followed, committing the guard of the prisoners to some military tribunes: for he hoped, that by killing and taking as many as he could, during their present consternation, he might put a final end to the war. After the consul's departure,

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departure, Caius Helvius arrived, with the third division. It was not in his power to prevent their sacking the camp; and, by one of fortune's most unjust dispensations, the booty fell into the hands of men who had not had any concern in the action. The cavalry stood for a long time ignorant of the fight, and of the success of their army. At last, they also, as far as their horses could climb up the hills, pursued the Gauls, who were now dispersed round the foot of the mountain, killing and taking many. The number of the slain could not easily be ascertained, the flight and slaughter having been so widely spread through all the windings of the mountains, and so many of them having fallen from impassable cliffs, down into cavities of prodigious depth; and very many also were killed in the woods and thickets. Claudius, who mentions two battles on mount Olympus, asserts, that there were forty thousand men killed; yet Valerius Antias, who is generally addicted to great exaggeration in point of numbers, says, not more than ten thousand. That the number of prisoners amounted to forty thousand, there is no doubt, because the Gauls had dragged along with them a crowd of people of all descriptions and of all ages, like men removing to another country, rather than going out to war. The consul collected in one heap, and burned, the arms of the enemy; he then ordered all to bring together the rest of the booty, and selling that portion which was to be applied to the use of the public, distributed the remainder among the soldiers, taking care that the shares should be as just as possible. He likewise commended them in public assemblies, and conferred presents according to the deserts of each; distinguishing Attalus above all others, with the general approbation of all. For not only by his courage and activity in undergoing dangers and fatigue, but also by the modesty of his deportment, that young prince had rendered himself eminently conspicuous.

XXIV. THE war with the Teutobagians remained still to be begun, and the consul, marching against them, arrived, on the third day, at Ancyra, a city remarkable in those parts, from which the enemy were but a little more than ten miles distant. While he lay encamped here, there was a memorable action performed by a woman, who was a prisoner. Among many other captives, in custody here, was the wife of the Gallic chieftain, Ortiagon, a woman of exquisite beauty, and the commander of the guards was a centurion, avaricious and lustful, as soldiers often are. He, first, sounded her sentiments; but, finding that she abhorred the thought of voluntary prostitution, he employed violence against her person, which fortune had put into his power. Afterwards, in order to make some atonement for the injury and insult, he gave her hopes of liberty to return to her friends; but even this he would not grant, as became a lover, without a compensation. He stipulated for a certain weight of gold, and, being unwilling to let any of his countrymen be privy to the business, gave her leave to send any of the prisoners, whom she chose, with a message to her friends. He appointed a spot near the river, to which two of the prisoner's friends, and not more, were to come with the gold in the night following, and to receive her from his hands. It happened that, among the prisoners, under the same guard, was a servant of her own: he was employed as the messenger, and the centurion, as soon as it grew dark, conveyed him out beyond the advanced posts. On the following night two of her friends came to the place appointed, as did the centurion with his prisoner. Here, on their producing the gold, which amounted to an Attic talent, for that was the sum demanded, in her own language, she ordered them to draw their swords, and kill the centurion, while he was weighing the gold. After he was slain, she had his head cut off, and wrapping it up in her garment, carried it with

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her to her husband Ortiagon, who had fled home from Olympus. Before she would embrace him, she threw down the centurion's head at his feet; and, on his asking, with astonishment, whose head it was, and what was the meaning of such a proceeding, so unaccountable in a female, she acknowledged to her husband the injury committed on her person, and the vengeance she had taken for the forcible violation of her chastity. And, it is said, that, in all her subsequent conduct, she maintained to the last, by the purity and strictness of her life, the glory of this achievement, so honourable to her sex.

XXV. THE Tectosagians sent envoys to the consul in his camp at Ancyra, intreating him not to decamp thence, until he had held a conference with their kings; adding, that they preferred peace, on any conditions, to war. The time was fixed for the next day, and, for the place, a spot which seemed the most central between the camp of the Gauls and Ancyra. The consul came thither, at the appointed time, with a guard of five hundred horse, but, seeing none of the Gauls there, he returned into his camp: after which the same envoys came again, with an apology, that their kings could not come, being prevented by religious considerations; but, that the principal men of the nation would attend, and that the business might be as well transacted by them. To which the consul answered, that he would send Attalus on his part. To this meeting both parties came, Attalus, attended by an escort of three hundred horse, and a conversation ensued respecting the terms of peace; but, as the business could not be finally concluded without the presence of the commanders in chief, it was agreed, that the consul and the kings should meet in the same place on the following day. The intention of the Gauls in postponing matters, was, first, to waste time, that they might remove their effects, with which they did not choose

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choose to be incumbered in case of danger, and also their wives and children, to the other side of the river Halys; and, secondly, to favour a plot which they were forming against the consul, while he should harbour no suspicion of treachery during the conference. They chose for this purpose, out of their whole army, ten thousand horsemen of approved intrepidity: and their treachery would have taken effect, had not fortune exerted herself in favour of the law of nations, which they plotted to violate. The Roman parties, who went out for forage and wood, were led towards that quarter where the conference was to be held; for the tribunes judged that the safest course, as they would have the consul's escort, and himself, as a guard between them and the enemy. However, they posted another guard of their own, of six hundred horse, nearer to the camp. The consul, being assured by Attalus that the kings would come, and that the business might be concluded, set out from his camp with the same guard as before; and when he had advanced about five miles, and was near the place appointed, he saw, on a sudden, the Gauls coming on with hostile fury, as fast as their horses could gallop. He halted, and ordering his horsemen to make ready their arms, and their courage, received the enemy's first charge with firmness, and kept his ground. But then, being overpowered with numbers, he began to retreat leisurely, without disturbing the ranks of the troops, and, at last, the danger of delay appearing greater than any advantage to be derived from keeping their ranks, they all fled in hurry and disorder. The Gauls, seeing them disperse, pursued eagerly, and killed several; and a great part of them would have been cut off, had not the six hundred horse, the guard of the foragers, come up to meet them. These, on hearing, at a distance, the shout of dismay, raised by their friends, made ready their weapons and horses, and, with their vigour fresh, re-

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newed the fight after it had become desperate. The fortune of the battle, therefore, was instantly reversed, and dismay retorted from the vanquished on the victors. At the first charge the Gauls were routed; at the same time the foragers from the fields ran together towards the spot, and wherever the Gauls turned they met an enemy, so that they could not even retreat with either ease or safety, especially as the Romans pursued on fresh horses, while theirs were fatigued. Few therefore escaped, not one was taken; the far greater part paid their lives as a forfeit for having violated the faith of a conference. The whole army of the Romans, with minds burning with rage, marched up, next day, close to the enemy.

XXVI. THE consul, resolved that no particular should escape his knowledge, spent two days in examining the nature of the mountain with his own eyes. On the third day, after taking the auspices, and then offering sacrifice, he formed his troops in four divisions, that two might go with him up the middle of the mountain, and the other two march up, one on each side, against the wings of the Gauls. The main strength of the enemy, the Tectosagians and Trocmians, amounting to fifty thousand men, formed the centre of their line. The cavalry, about ten thousand men, being dismounted, their horses being useless among the uneven rocks, were placed on the right wing, and the Cappadocians of Ariarathes, with the auxiliary troops of Morzes, making up near four thousand, on the left. The consul, as he had done before, at mount Olympus, placed his light troops in the van, taking care that they should have ready at hand the same abundance of weapons of every sort. When they approached the enemy, all circumstances, on both sides, were the same as in the former battle, excepting that the spirits of the conquerors were elated by their success, and those
of

of the enemy depressed; because, though they themselves had not been defeated, yet they considered, as their own, the overthrow of people of their own race. The battle, therefore, commencing under like circumstances, terminated in the same issue. The cloud, as it were, of light weapons that were thrown, overwhelmed the army of the Gauls; and, as none of them dared to advance out of the ranks, for fear of exposing all parts of their bodies open to the blows, so, while they stood still, the closer they were together the more wounds they received, as the assailants had the better mark to aim at. The consul now judged, that, as they were already disordered, if he should once let them see the standards of the legions, they would all instantly turn about and fly; receiving, therefore, the light-infantry, and the rest of the irregulars, between the ranks, he ordered the line to advance.

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XXVII. THE Gauls, discouraged by reflecting on the defeat of the Tolistoboians, and distressed by carrying weapons sticking in their flesh, fatigued also by long standing, and by their wounds, were not able to support even the first shout and onset of the Romans. Their flight was directed towards their camp; but few of them entered within the trenches; the greater part, passing by on the right and left, fled whatever way each man's giddy haste carried him. The conquerors pursued as far as the camp, cutting off the hindmost; but then, through greediness for booty, they stopped in the camp, and not one of them continued the pursuit. The Gauls in the wings stood some time longer, because it was later when the Romans reached them; but neither did they stand even the first discharge of weapons. The consul, as he could not draw off, from plundering, the men who had got into the camp, sent forward those who had been in the wings to pursue the enemy. They, accordingly, followed them a

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considerable way; yet, in the pursuit, for there was no fight, they killed not more than eight thousand men: the rest crossed the river Halys. A great part of the Romans lodged that night in the enemy's camp; the rest the consul led back to his own. Next day, he took a review of the prisoners, and of the booty, the quantity of which was as great as could be supposed to have been heaped together by a nation most greedy of rapine, after holding possession, by force of arms, of all the country on this side mount Taurus, during a space of many years. When the Gauls, after the dispersion of their flight, reassembled in one place, a great part of them being wounded or unarmed, and all destitute of every kind of property, they sent deputies to the consul, to supplicate for peace. Manlius ordered them to attend him at Ephesus; and, being in haste to quit those cold regions, in the vicinity of mount Taurus, as it was now the middle of autumn, he led back his victorious army into winter-quarters on the sea-coast.

XXVIII. DURING the time of those transactions in Asia, the other provinces were in a state of tranquillity. At Rome, the censors, Titus Quintius Flamininus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, read over the roll of the senate; Publius Scipio Africanus was, a third time, declared prince of the senate, and only four members were struck out, none of whom had held any curule office. In their review of the knights, also, the censors acted with great mildness. They contracted with undertakers for the erection of a building in the Æquimælium, on the Capitoline mount, and for paving, with flint, a road from the Capuan gate to the temple of Mars. The Campanians, having requested the directions of the senate, respecting the place where their census should be held, an order passed, that it should be performed at Rome. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell this year; twelve times the Tiber overflowed the field of Mars,

Mars, and the lower parts of the city. The war with the Gauls, in Asia, having been brought to a conclusion by the consul, Cneius Manlius, the other consul, Marcus Fulvius, as the Ætolians were now completely reduced, passed over to Cephallenia, and sent messengers round the states of the island, to inquire whether they chose to submit to the Romans, or to try the fortune of war. Fear operated so strongly on them all, that they did not refuse to surrender, and they gave the number of hostages demanded, which was proportioned to the abilities of a weak people; the Nefians, Cranians, Pallenians, and Samæans, giving twenty each. Peace had, now, beyond what could have been hoped for, begun to diffuse its benign influence through Cephallenia, when one state, the Samæans, from what motive is uncertain, suddenly broke out in opposition. They said, that, as their city was commodiously situated, they were afraid that the Romans would compel them to remove from it. But whether they conceived this apprehension, in their own minds, and under the impulse of a groundless fear, disturbed the general quiet, or whether such a project had been mentioned in conversation among the Romans, and reported to them, has not been discovered: thus much is certain, that, after having given hostages, they suddenly shut their gates, and could not be prevailed upon to relinquish their design, even by the prayers of their friends, whom the consul sent to the walls, to try how far they might be influenced by compassion for their parents and countrymen. As their answers shewed nothing of a pacific disposition, siege was laid to the city. The consul had a sufficient store of engines and machines, which had been brought over from Ambracia, where they had been used in the siege; and the works necessary to be formed were executed by the soldiers with great diligence. The rams were therefore brought forward in two places, and began to batter the walls.

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XXIX. The townsmen omitted nothing that could serve to obstruct the works, or the motions of the besiegers. But the two methods of defence, which they found most effectual, were, first the raising always, instead of a part of the wall that was demolished, a new wall of equal strength on the inside; and the other, making sudden sallies, at one time, against the enemy's works, at another, against his advanced guards; and, in those attacks, they generally got the better. The only means of confining them, that could be contrived, seems, on being mentioned, of no great consequence: this was the bringing one hundred slingers from Ægium, Patræ, and Dymæ. These men, according to the customary practice of that nation, were exercised from their childhood, in throwing with a sling, into the open sea, the round pebbles which, mixed with sand, generally cover the shores; and by this means they acquired such a degree of dexterity, as to throw weapons of that sort to a greater distance, with surer aim, and more powerful effect, than even the Balearian slingers. Besides, their sling does not consist merely of a single strap, as the Balearic sling, and those of other nations, but the receptacle of the bullet is three-fold, and made firm by several seams, that the bullet may not, by the yielding of the strap in the act of throwing, be let fly at random, but that, lying here steady, while it is whirled about, it may be discharged as if sent from the string of a bow. Being accustomed to drive their bullets through circular marks of small circumference, placed at a great distance, they not only hit the enemy's heads, but any part of their face that they aimed at. These slings checked the Semeans from sallying either so frequently, or so boldly; insomuch that they would, sometimes, from the walls, beseech the Achæans to retire for a while, and be quiet spectators of their fight with the Roman guards. Same supported a siege of four months. At last,

as some of their small number were daily killed or wounded, and the survivors were, through continual fatigues, greatly reduced both in strength and spirits, the Romans, one night, scaling the wall of the citadel, which they call Cyatides, made their way thence into the Forum. The Sameans, on discovering that a part of the city was taken by the enemy, fled, with their wives and children, into the greater citadel, but submitting, next day, they were all sold as slaves, and their city was plundered.

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XXX. As soon as he had settled the affairs of Cephallenia, the consul, leaving a garrison in Same, sailed over to Peloponnesus, where his presence had been often solicited, for a long time past, chiefly by the Ægians and Lacedæmonians. From the first institution of the Achæan council, the assemblies of the nation had been held at Ægium, whether out of respect to the dignity of the city, or on account of the commodiousness of its situation. This usage Philopœmen first attempted to subvert, in that year, and determined to introduce an ordinance, that the assemblies should be held in every one of the cities, which were members of the Achæan union, in rotation; and, a little before the arrival of the consul, when the Demiurguses, who are the chief magistrates in the states, summoned the representatives to Ægium, Philopœmen, then prætor, by proclamation, appointed their meeting at Argos. As it was apparent that, in general, all would repair to the latter place, the consul likewise, though he favoured the cause of the Ægians, went thither, but, after the matter had been debated, seeing that the opposite party was likely to succeed, he declined being farther concerned. The Lacedæmonians, then, drew his attention to their disputes. Their state was kept in constant uneasiness, principally, by the exiles, of whom great numbers resided in the maritime forts, on the coast of Laconia, all which had been

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been taken from the Lacedæmonians. At this the latter were deeply chagrined, as they wished to enjoy free access to the sea, if they should have occasion to send ambassadors to Rome, or any other place : and, at the same time, to possess some mart and repository for foreign merchandise, for their necessary demands. They, therefore, attacked, in the night, a maritime village, called Las, and seized it by surprise. The inhabitants, and the exiles residing in the place, were terrified, at first, by the sudden attack ; but, afterwards, collecting in a body, before day, after a slight contest, they expelled the Lacedæmonians. A general alarm, nevertheless, spread over the whole coast, and all the forts and villages, and the exiles resident there, united in sending a common embassy to the Achæans.

XXXI. THE prætor, Philopœmen, who, from the beginning, had ever been a friend to the cause of the exiles, and had always advised the Achæans to reduce the power and influence of the Lacedæmonians, on the request of the ambassadors, gave them an audience of the council. There, on a motion made by him, a decree was passed, that, “ whereas Titus Quintius and the Romans had
“ committed their forts and villages, on the coast
“ of Laconia, to the protection and guardian-
“ ship of the Achæans ; and whereas, according
“ to treaty, the Lacedæmonians ought to leave
“ them unmolested ; notwithstanding which, the
“ village of Las had been attacked by them, and
“ bloodshed committed therein ; therefore, unless
“ the authors and abettors of this outrage were de-
“ livered up to the Achæans, they would consider
“ it as a violation of the treaty.” To demand those persons, ambassadors were instantly dispatched to Lacedæmon. This authoritative injunction appeared to the Lacedæmonians so haughty and insolent, that, if their state had been in its ancient condition,

they would undoubtedly have flown to arms. What distracted them most of all was, the fear, lest, if by obeying the first mandates they once received the yoke, Philopœmen, pursuant to a scheme which he had long had in contemplation, should put the exiles in possession of Lacedæmon. Enraged, therefore, to madness, they put to death thirty men of the faction which had held some correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, passed a decree, renouncing all alliance with the Achæans, and ordering ambassadors to be sent immediately to Cephallenia, to surrender Lacedæmon to the Romans, and their consul, Marcus Fulvius, and to beseech him to come into Peloponnesus, and receive Lacedæmon under the protection and dominion of the Roman people.

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XXXII. WHEN the Achæan ambassadors returned with an account of these proceedings, war was declared against the Lacedæmonians, by an unanimous vote of all the states of the confederacy; and nothing, but the winter, prevented its being commenced immediately. However, they detached several small parties, not only by land, but by sea, which, making incursions more like freebooters than regular troops, laid waste the Lacedæmonian frontiers. This commotion brought the consul into Peloponnesus, and, by his order, a council was summoned at Elis, and the Lacedæmonians were called on to attend, and plead their own cause. The debates there were violent, and proceeded even to altercation. But the consul, who, in other respects acted in a very conciliatory manner, alternately favouring both parties, and giving no explicit opinion, put an end to the dispute by one decisive order, that they should desist from hostilities, until they sent ambassadors to Rome, to the senate. Both parties sent ambassadors accordingly. The Lacedæmonian exiles, also, authorised the Achæans to act in their cause,

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cause, and negotiate on their behalf. Diophanes and Lycortas, both of them Megalopolitans, were at the head of the Achæan embassy; and, as they were of different sentiments with regard to public affairs, at home, so their discourses on the occasion were of quite different tendencies. Diophanes proposed to leave the determination of every point entirely to the senate, "who," he said, "would best decide the controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians;" while Lycortas, according to the instructions of Philopœmen, required, that the senate should permit the Achæans to execute their own decrees, made conformable to treaty, and their own laws; and to possess, unfringed, the liberty which they themselves had bestowed. The Achæan nation was, at that time, in high esteem with the Romans; yet it was resolved, that no alteration should be made respecting the Lacedæmonians; but the answer given was so obscure, that, while the Achæans understood that they were left at liberty to act as they pleased toward Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians construed it, as not conveying any such unlimited licence,

XXXIII. THE use which the Achæans made of this power was immoderate and tyrannical. They continued Philopœmen in office, who, in the beginning of spring, collecting an army, encamped in the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and thence sent ambassadors to insist on their delivering up the authors of the insurrection; promising, that if they complied, their state should remain in peace, and that those persons should not suffer any punishment, without a previous trial. The rest were held silent by their fears; but the persons demanded by name, declared, that they would voluntarily go, provided they received assurance from the ambassadors, that they should be safe from violence until their cause were heard. Several other men, of illustrious characters,

racters, went along with them; both from a wish to aid those private individuals, and because they thought their cause concerned the public interest. The Achæans had never before brought the Lacedæmonian exiles with them into the country, because they knew that nothing would so much disgust the minds of the people: but now, the vanguard of almost the whole army was composed of these exiles. When the Lacedæmonians came to the gate, these met them in a body, and, first, began to provoke them with ill language; and, then, a wrangle ensuing, and their passions being inflamed, the most furious of the exiles made an attack on the Lacedæmonians. While these appealed to the gods, and the faith of the ambassadors; and the ambassadors and the prætor, driving back the crowd, protected the Lacedæmonians, and kept off some who were already binding them in chains, the multitude, roused by the tumult, gathered about them in greater crowds. The Achæans, at first, ran thither to see what was doing; but then, the exiles, with loud clamours, complained of the sufferings that they had undergone, implored assistance, and at the same time insisted, that "such another opportunity, if they neglected this, could never be hoped for; that these men had been the means of rendering useless the treaties, solemnly ratified in the Capitol, at Olympia; and in the citadel of Athens; and that, before their hands should be tied up by a new treaty, they ought to punish the guilty." By these expressions, the multitude was so inflamed, that on one man calling out, to fall on, the whole crowd attacked them with stones; and seventeen persons, who, during the tumult, had been put in chains, were killed. The next day, sixty-three, whom the prætor had protected from violence, not because he wished them safe, but because he was unwilling that they should perish, before they were tried, were taken into custody, brought before an enraged multitude, and, after addressing

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BOOK dressing a few words to such prejudiced ears, they
XXXVIII. were all condemned and executed.

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XXXIV. AFTER this terrible example had been made, to humble the Lacedæmonians, orders were sent to them, first, that they should demolish their walls: then, that all the foreign auxiliaries, who had served for pay under the tyrants, should quit the Laconian territories; then, that the slaves, whom the tyrants had set free, who amounted to a great multitude, should depart, before a certain day, after which, should any remain in the country, the Achæans were authorised to seize, sell, and carry them away; that they should abrogate the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, and adopt the laws and institutions of the Achæans, by which, all would become one body, and concord would be established among them. They obeyed none of these injunctions more willingly, than that of demolishing the walls; nor suffered any with more reluctance, than the restoration of the exiles. A decree for their restoration was made at Tegea, in a general council of the Achæans; where, an account being brought, that the foreign auxiliaries had been sent away, and that the newly-registered Lacedæmonians, (so they called the slaves enfranchised by the tyrants) had left the city and dispersed through the country, it was resolved, that, before the army was disbanded, the prætor should go, with some light troops, and, seizing that description of people, sell them as spoil. Great numbers were accordingly seized, and sold; and with the money, arising from the sale, a portico at Megalopolis, which the Lacedæmonians had demolished, was rebuilt, with the approbation of the Achæans. The lands of Belbinis, of which the Lacedæmonian tyrants had unjustly kept possession, were also restored to that state, according to an old decree of the Achæans, made in the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas. The state of Lacedæmon having, by these means,

means, lost the sinews of its strength, remained long in subjection to the Achæans; but nothing hurt it so materially as the abolition of the discipline of Lycurgus, in the practice of which they had continued for seven hundred years.

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XXXV. AFTER the sitting of the council, wherein the debate between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians was held in presence of the consul, as the year was near expiring, Marcus Fulvius went home to Rome to hold the elections. The consuls elected were, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Caius Livius Salinator, having, this year, also, procured the rejection of his enemy, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Then were elected prætors, Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Stertinius, Caius Atinius, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. When the elections were finished, it was resolved that the consul, Marcus Fulvius, should return into his province to the army, and that he, and his colleague, Cneius Manlius, should be continued in command for a year. In this year, in pursuance of directions from the decemvirs, a statue of Hercules was set up in his temple, and a chariot with six horses, gilt with gold, in the Capitol, by Publius Cornelius. The inscription mentioned, that Publius Cornelius, consul *, made the offering. The curule ædiles, also, Publius Claudius and Servius Sulpicius Galba, dedicated twelve gilded shields, out of money raised by fines on corn merchants, for raising the market by hoarding the corn. And Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, plebeian ædile, having prosecuted to conviction one malefactor, for the ædiles prosecuted separately, dedicated two gilded statues. His colleague, Aulus Cæcilius, did not convict any one. The Roman games were exhibited

* This does not prove that he was in the office of consul, at the time of his making it; for it was usual to mention in such inscriptions the highest office that the person had ever held.

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entire, thrice, the plebeian, five times. Marcus Valerius Messala, and Caius Livius Salinator, entering into office on the ides of March, proposed to the senate's consideration the state of the commonwealth, the provinces, and the armies. With respect to Ætolia and Asia no alteration was made. The provinces assigned to the consuls, were, to one, Pisa, where he was to act against the Ligurians; to the other, Gaul: they were ordered to cast lots, for these, or settle between themselves; to levy new armies, two legions for each; and to raise, of the Latine allies, fifteen thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse. Liguria fell, by lot, to Messala; Gaul, to Salinator. The prætors then cast lots, and the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Claudius; the foreign, to Publius Claudius; Sicily, to Quintus Marcius; Sardinia, to Caius Stertinius; hither Spain, to Lucius Manlius; farther Spain, to Caius Atinius.

XXXVI. THE dispositions made, respecting the armies, were these. It was ordered, that the legions, which had served under Caius Lælius, should be removed out of Gaul into Bruttium, and put under the command of Marcus Tuccius, proprætor; that the army, which was in Sicily, should be disbanded, and the fleet, which was there, brought home to Rome, by Marcus Sempronius, proprætor. For the Spains, were decreed the legions then in those provinces, one for each; with orders, that each of the two prætors should levy, from among the allies, to recruit their numbers, three thousand foot and two hundred horse, which they were to carry with them. Before the new magistrates set out for their provinces, a supplication, of three days continuance, was ordered by the college of decemvirs, to be performed in every street, on account of a darkness having overspread the sky, between the third and fourth hours of the day; and the nine days solemnity was proclaimed, on account of a shower of stones having

having fallen on the Aventine. As the censors obliged the Campanians, pursuant to the decree of the senate, made last year, to pass the general survey at Rome, (for, before that, it had not been fixed where they should be surveyed,) they petitioned, that they might be allowed to take in marriage women who were citizens of Rome, and that any who had, heretofore, married such, might retain them; and, likewise, that children born of such marriages, before that day, might be deemed legitimate, and entitled to inherit; both which requests were complied with. Caius Valerius Tappus, a plebeian tribune, proposed an order of the people concerning the towns of Formiæ, Fundi and Arpinum, that they should be invested with the right of voting, for, hitherto, they had been members of the state without that right. Against this proposal four plebeian tribunes entered a protest, because it was not made under the direction of the senate; but, being informed, that the power of imparting that privilege to any persons, belonged to the people, and not to the senate, they desisted from their opposition. An order was passed, that the Formians and Fundans should vote in the Æmilian tribe, and the Arpinians in the Cornelian; and in these tribes they were then, for the first time, rated in the census, in pursuance of the order of the people proposed by Valerius. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, censor, having got the better of Titus Quintius, in the lots, closed the lustrum. The number of citizens rated, was two hundred fifty-eight thousand, three hundred and eight. When the survey was finished, the consuls set out for their provinces.

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XXXVII. DURING the winter wherein this passed at Rome, Cneius Manlius, at first, while consul, and afterwards, when proconsul, was attended, in his winter quarters in Asia, by embassies from all the nations and states on this side of mount Taurus;

and although the conquest of Antiochus was more splendid and glorious to the Romans, than that of the Gauls, yet the latter gave greater joy to the allies than the former. Subjection to the king had been more tolerable to them, than the neighbourhood of these fierce and savage barbarians, and the daily apprehensions, added to the uncertainty, where the storm of their depredations might fall. Having, therefore, obtained liberty, by the expulsion of Antiochus, and permanent peace by the conquest of the Gauls, they brought, not only, congratulations, but also golden crowns, in proportion to the ability of each. Ambassadors, also, came from Antiochus, and from the Gauls themselves, to receive the conditions of peace; and from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, to solicit pardon, and make atonement, by money, for his crime, in assisting Antiochus with troops. He was fined two hundred talents*. The Gauls were answered, that when king Eumenes arrived, he would settle the conditions. The embassies of the several states were dismissed with kind answers, and with their minds much more at ease than when they arrived. The ambassadors of Antiochus were ordered to bring the money and the corn, due by the treaty concluded with Lucius Scipio, into Pamphylia, whither the consul intended to go with his army. In the beginning of the next spring, after performing the ceremony of purifying the army, he began his march, and, on the eighth day, arrived at Apamea. There he rested three days; and, on the third day, after his departure from Apamea, arrived in Pamphilia, whither he had ordered the king's ambassadors to bring the money and corn. Here he received two thousand five hundred talents† of silver, which he sent to Apamea, the corn he distributed to the army. Thence he marched to Perga, the only place in the country still held by a garrison of the

* 38,750 l.

† 484,275 l.

king's troops. On his approach, the governor of the town went to meet him, and requested thirty days time, that he might consult Antiochus about the surrender of the city. The time was granted, and, on the expiration of it, the city was surrendered. From Perga, he detached his brother, Lucius Manlius, with four thousand men, to exact from the Oroandians the remainder of the money which they had promised; and, ordering the ambassadors of Antiochus to follow, he led back his army to Apamea, having heard that king Eumenes, and the ten ambassadors from Rome, were arrived at Ephesus.

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XXXVIII. HERE, with the concurrence of the ten ambassadors, a treaty was concluded with Antiochus, and written in nearly the following words: " There shall be friendship, between king Antiochus and the Roman people, on these terms and conditions. He shall not suffer any army, intended to act against the Roman people, or their allies, to pass through his own kingdom, or the territory of any state under his dominion, nor to supply it with provisions, or any other assistance. The Romans, and their allies, are to observe the same conduct, toward Antiochus, and those under his government. It shall not be lawful for Antiochus to wage war with the inhabitants of the islands, or to pass over into Europe. He shall evacuate the cities, lands, villages and forts, on this side of mount Taurus, as far as the river Halys; and from the foot of Taurus to the summit, where are the confines of Lycaonia. He shall not remove any arms out of any of the evacuated towns, lands or forts; and if any have been removed, he shall replace them, where each ought to be. He shall not receive any soldier, or other person, from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any natives of those cities, which are hereby separated from his kingdom, are now with Antiochus, or within the

" bounds of his realms, they shall all return to
 " Apamea, before a certain day, hereafter to be
 " appointed. Such of the natives of Antiochus's
 " kingdom, as are now with the Romans and their
 " allies, shall have liberty to depart, or to stay. All
 " their slaves, whether fugitives or taken in war,
 " likewise all free-born persons, whether prisoners
 " or deserters, he shall redeliver to the Romans,
 " and their allies. He shall surrender up all his
 " elephants, and not procure others. He shall also
 " surrender his ships of war, and their stores; and
 " shall not keep more than ten light trading vessels,
 " none of which are to be worked with more than
 " thirty oars, nor a galley of one tier of oars, for the
 " purpose of an offensive war; nor shall any ship of
 " his come on this side of the promontories, Caly-
 " cadnus and Sarpedon, except it shall be a ship
 " carrying money, tribute, ambassadors, or hostages.
 " King Antiochus shall not hire soldiers out of those
 " nations which are under the dominion of the Ro-
 " man people, nor even receive volunteers. What-
 " ever houses and buildings, within the limits of the
 " kingdom of Antiochus, are the property of the
 " Rhodians and their allies, the Rhodians and their
 " allies shall hold, on the same footing as they did
 " before the war. If any sums of money are due to
 " them, they shall have a right to enforce payment;
 " likewise, if any of their property has been taken
 " away, they shall have a right to search for, dis-
 " cover, and reclaim it. If any of the cities, which
 " ought to be surrendered, are held by people to
 " whom Antiochus gave them, he shall remove the
 " garrisons, and take care that the surrender be
 " properly executed. He shall pay, within twelve
 " years, by equal annual payments, twelve thousand
 " talents of silver*, of the proper Attic standard,
 " the talent to weigh not less than eighty Roman

* 2,235,000 l.

" pounds; and five hundred and forty thousand
 " pecks of wheat. He shall pay to king Eumenes,
 " within five years, three hundred and fifty talents*;
 " and, for the corn due, according to his own valu-
 " ation, one hundred and twenty-seven talents†.
 " He shall deliver to the Romans twenty hostages,
 " and change them every third year; none of which
 " are to be younger than eighteen, or older than
 " forty-five years. If any of the allies of the Ro-
 " man people shall make war on Antiochus, he
 " shall be at liberty to repel force by force, pro-
 " vided he does not keep possession of any city,
 " either by right of arms, or by admitting it into
 " a treaty of amity. Whatever controversies may
 " arise between him and them, shall be decided by
 " arbitration, according to the rules of equity; or,
 " if it shall be the choice of both parties, by arms."

A clause was added to this treaty, about delivering up Hannibal, the Carthaginian; Thoas, the Ætolian; Mnasimachus, the Acarnanian; and the Chalcidians, Eubolis and Philo; and another, that if the parties should, afterwards, agree to add, to expunge, or alter any of the above articles, it might be done without impeachment to the validity of the treaty.

XXXIX. THE consul swore to the observance of this treaty, and sent Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Lucius Manlius, who happened to return just at that time from Oroanda, to require the oath of the king. At the same time he wrote to Quintus Fabius Labeo, commander of the fleet, to sail, without delay, to Patara, to burn and destroy the king's ships that lay there. Sailing, accordingly, from Ephesus, he burned, or otherwise destroyed, fifty decked ships; and, in the same voyage, took Telmessus, the inhabitants being terrified by the sudden appearance of the fleet. Then, having ordered those whom he

* 67,821.

† 24,609 l. 9 s.

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left at Ephesus to follow him, he passed on from Lycia, through the islands, to Greece. At Athens he waited a few days, until the ships from Ephesus came to Piræus, and then he brought home the whole fleet to Italy. Cneius Manlius having, among other matters to be given up by Antiochus, received his elephants, gave them all as a present to Eumenes; and then, he admitted to a hearing the representations of the several states, many of which were in an unsettled condition, in consequence of the changes that had taken place. King Ariarathes, through the mediation of Eumenes, to whom he had lately betrothed his daughter, obtained a remission of half the fine imposed upon him, and was received into friendship. After hearing what the several states had to say in their own behalf, the ten ambassadors made different arrangements, with respect to the difference of their cases. Such as had been tributary to king Antiochus, and had sided with the Romans, they rendered independant; and such as had taken part with Antiochus, or had been tributary to king Attalus, all these they ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes. To the Colophonians, living in Notium, the Cymæans, and Milaseniens, whom they specified by name, they granted independance; on the Clazomenians, besides independence, they bestowed the island of Drymusa. To the Milesians, they restored what was called the sacred lands. They added to the territory of the Trojans, Rhœteum and Gergithus, not so much in consideration of any recent merits of theirs, as out of respect to their own origin. The same motive procured liberty to Dardanus. To the Chians, also, the Smyrnæans and Erythræans, they granted lands, in consideration of the singular fidelity which they had shewn during the war; and they treated them, in every instance, with particular distinction. To the Phocæans they restored the territory, which they had enjoyed before the war, and the privilege of being governed by their own antient laws,

laws. They confirmed to the Rhodians, the grants mentioned in the former decree. Lycia and Caria were assigned to them, as far as the river Mæander, excepting Telmessus. To king Eumenes they gave, in Europe, the Chersonese and Lyfimachia, with the forts, towns, and lands thereof, bounded as when held by Antiochus; and, in Asia, both the Phrygias, the one on the Hellespont, and the other called the greater; and they restored to him Mysia, which had been taken by king Prusias, and also Lycaonia, and Milyas, and Lydia, and, by express mention, the cities of Tralles and Ephesus, and Telmessus. A dispute arising between Eumenes and Antiochus's ambassadors, concerning Pamphylia, because part of it lay on the hither side, and part beyond Taurus, the matter was referred entire to the senate.

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XL. WHEN these treaties and grants were concluded, Manlius, with the ten ambassadors, and all his army, marched to the Hellespont, whither he had ordered the petty princes of the Gauls to come; and, there, he prescribed the terms on which they should maintain peace with Eumenes, and warned them to put an end to the practice of rambling in arms, and to confine themselves within the bounds of their own territories. Then, having collected ships from all parts of the coast, and Eumenes's fleet also being brought thither from Elæa by Athenæus, that king's brother, he transported all his forces into Europe. Proceeding through the Chersonese, by short marches, the army being heavily encumbered with booty of every sort, he halted at Lyfimachia, in order that he might have the beasts of burthen as fresh and vigorous as might be, when he should enter Thrace, the march through which was generally considered with terror. On the day of his leaving Lyfimachia, he came to the river called Melas*,

* Black.

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and thence, next day, to Cypsela. The road, about ten miles from Cypsela, he found obstructed by woods, narrow, and broken. On account of these difficulties he divided the army into two parts; and, ordering one to advance in front, and the other at a considerable distance, to cover the rear, he placed between them the baggage, consisting of waggons with the public money, and other booty of great value. As they marched in this order through the defile, a body of Thracians, not more in number than ten thousand, composed of four states, the As-tians, Cœnians, Maduatians, and Cœleans, posted themselves on both sides of the road at the narrowest part. Many were of opinion, that this was not done without the treacherous instigation of Philip, king of Macedonia, as he knew that the Romans were to return through Thrace, and that they carried with them a large quantity of money. The general himself was in the van, anxious about the disadvantages to which his men were exposed from the nature of the place. The Thracians did not stir until the troops passed by; but, when they saw that the foremost division had got clear of the narrow pass, and that the rear division was not yet drawing near, they rushed upon the baggage, and, having killed the guards, some rifled the waggons, while others led off the horses under their loads. When the shout reached, first, those on the rear, who just then entered the pass, and, afterwards, those in the van, they ran together from both extremities to the centre, and an irregular sort of fight commenced, in many different places at once. The booty itself exposed the Thracians to slaughter; for, besides being encumbered with burthens, most of them had thrown away their arms, that they might be at liberty to seize the prey; and, on the other side, the Romans laboured under great disadvantages from the nature of the place, as the barbarians, acquainted with every path, made their attacks with advantage, and, some-
times

times came, unperceived, through the hollow glens. The loads too, and the waggons, lying incommodiously for one party or the other, as chance directed, were great obstructions to their movements; and, here, the plunderer, there, the defender of the booty, fell. The fortune of the fight was variable, according as the ground was favourable to this party or that, and according to the spirit of the combatants, and their numbers; for, sometimes, smaller parties engaged with larger, sometimes larger with small: on both sides great numbers fell. The night, at length, approaching, the Thracians retired from the fight, not for the purpose of avoiding wounds or death, but because they had gotten enough of booty.

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Y. R. 564.
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XLI. THE first division of the Romans encamped beyond the pass, in open ground, round the temple of Bendis*; the other division remained in the middle of the defile, to guard the baggage, which they surrounded with a double rampart. Next day, having carefully examined the pass, before they moved, they rejoined the first. In that battle, although part of the baggage was lost, and a great part of the attendants, and many of the soldiers perished, the fight having been carried on through almost the whole extent of the defile, yet the heaviest loss sustained was the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus, a brave and gallant officer. The army arrived, that day, at the Hebrus, and thence passed through the country of the Ænians, by the temple of Apollo, which the natives call Zerynthium. At a place called Tempyra, they came to another defile, as rugged and uneven as the former; but, as there were no woods near, it afforded no concealment for an ambuscade. Hither assembled another tribe of Thracians, called Thrausians, with the same hope of plunder; but, as the Romans were enabled, by

* Diana, so called in the Thracian language.

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Y. R. 564.

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the nakedness of the vallies, to descry them at a distance, posted on each side of the road, they were less alarmed and confused; for, although they were obliged to fight on disadvantageous ground, yet it was in a regular battle, in the open field, and a fair encounter. Advancing in close order, with the war shout, and falling on the enemy, they forced them to give way, and soon drove them off the ground, and the sequel was flight and slaughter: for the narrow passes, in which the enemy had trusted, impeded their own escape. The Romans, after this success, encamped at a village of the Maronites, called Sare. Next day, marching through an open country, they reached the plain of Priate, where they halted three days, to receive supplies of corn, partly, from the country of the Maronites, who made a voluntary contribution, and, partly, from their own ships, which attended them with stores of every kind. From this post, they had one day's march to Apollonia, from whence they proceeded through the territory of Abdera to Neapolis. All this march, through the Grecian colonies, the troops performed in security. During the remainder, through the midst of the Thracians, although free from attacks, yet they were never free from apprehensions, night or day, until they arrived in Macedonia. This same army, when it marched in the same route under Scipio, had found the Thracians more peaceable, for no other reason, than because it had not then such a quantity of booty to tempt them: although Claudius writes, that, even on that occasion, a body of fifteen thousand Thracians opposed Mutines, the Numidian, who advanced before the army to explore the country. He had with him four hundred Numidian horsemen, and a few elephants. Mutines's son, with one hundred and fifty chosen horsemen, broke through the middle of the enemy; and, presently, when Mutines, placing his elephants in the centre, and the horse on the wings, had begun to engage the enemy, he fell furiously

ously on their rear, and that this attack of the cavalry so disordered the Thracians, that they did not come near the main body of infantry. Cneius Manlius conducted his army, through Macedonia, into Thessaly; and, having proceeded thence through Epirus to Apollonia, spent the winter there, for people had not yet learned to despise the winter sea so far, as to venture on the passage.

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XLII. THE year had almost expired, when the consul, Marcus Valerius, came from Liguria to Rome to elect new magistrates; although he had not performed in his province any important business, that could afford a reasonable excuse for coming later than usual to the elections. The assembly for choosing consuls was held on the twelfth day before the calends of March, and the two elected were, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Caius Flaminius. The following day, were elected prætors; Appius Claudius Pulcher, Servius Sulpicius Galba, Quintus Terentius Culleo, Lucius Terentius Massa, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes. When the elections were concluded, the consul proposed to the senate, the appointment of the provinces for the prætors: two were decreed to the administration of justice in Rome; two out of Italy, Sicily and Sardinia; and two in Italy, Tarentum and Gaul; with orders, that the prætors should immediately cast lots before their commencement in office. To Servius Sulpicius, fell the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Terentius, the foreign; Lucius Terentius obtained Sicily; Quintus Fulvius, Sardinia; Appius Claudius, Tarentum; and Marcus Furius, Gaul. In that year, Lucius Minucius Myrtilus, and Lucius Manlius, being charged with having beaten the Carthaginian ambassadors, were, by order of Marcus Claudius, city prætor, delivered up by heralds to the ambassadors, and carried to Carthage. Reports prevailed of great preparations for war being made in Liguria,

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and of their growing every day more formidable. When, therefore, the new consuls proposed to the consideration of the senate, the state of the commonwealth, and the appointing of their provinces, the senate voted that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. To this vote the consul, Lepidus, objected, asserting, that "it would be highly indecent to shut up both the consuls among the valleys of Liguria, while Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius reigned, now, a second year, one in Europe, the other in Asia, as if substituted in the room of Philip and Antiochus. If it was resolved to keep armies in those countries, it was more proper that they should be commanded by consuls, than by private persons. Those commanders made their circuits, with all the terrors of war, through nations against whom war had not been declared, trafficking peace for money. If armies were necessary for the security of those provinces, in the same manner as Lucius Scipio, consul, had succeeded Marcus Acilius, consul, and Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius succeeded Lucius Scipio, so ought Caius Livius and Marcus Valerius, consuls, to have succeeded Fulvius and Manlius. But, unquestionably, at this time, after the Aetolian war had been concluded, Asia taken from Antiochus, and the Gauls subdued, either the consuls ought to be sent to the consular armies, or the legions ought to be brought home, and restored to the commonwealth." Notwithstanding these arguments, the senate persisted in their vote, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls; but they ordered, that Manlius and Fulvius should leave their provinces, withdraw the troops, and come home to Rome.

XLIII. THERE subsisted a quarrel between Marcus Fulvius and the consul Æmilius; the latter complaining, particularly, that, through the intrigues of
 Marcus

Marcus Fulvius, he had been kept back from obtaining the consulship two years. In order, therefore, to exasperate the minds of the public against him, he introduced to the senate ambassadors from Ambracia, whom he had previously instructed in the charges they were to make against him. These complained, that "when they were in a state of peace, after they had obeyed the commands of former consuls, and were ready to shew the same obedience to Marcus Fulvius, war had been made on them. That, first, their lands were ravaged; and, then, their city terrified by denunciations of plundering and slaughter, that their fears might compel them to shut their gates. They were then besieged and assaulted, and every instance of severity, ever practised in war, was inflicted on them, in murders, burnings, the sacking and demolishing of their city.* Their wives and children were dragged away into slavery; their goods taken from them; and, what shocked them more than all, their temples, throughout the whole city, were despoiled of their ornaments, the images of their gods, nay, the gods themselves, were torn from their mansions, and carried away: so that the Ambracians had no object of worship left, nothing to which they could address their prayers and supplications, but naked walls and pillars." While they were making these complaints, the consul, as had been agreed, by asking questions leading to farther charges, drew them on, as if against their inclination, to the mention of other matters. Their representations moved the senators, but the other consul, Caius Flaminius, took up the cause of Marcus Fulvius. "The Ambracians," he said, "had set out in an old track, now long out of use. In this manner Marcus Marcellus had been accused by the Syracusans; and, in the same manner, Quintus Fulvius by the Campanians. Why might not the senate as well allow accusations to be

brought,

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“ brought, in the same course, against Titus Quintus, by king Philip; against Manius Acilius and Lucius Scipio, by Antiochus; against Cneius Manlius, by the Gauls; and against Fulvius himself, by the Ætolians, and the states of Cephallenia? Do you think, Conscrip̄t Fathers, that the besieging and taking Ambracia, the removing thence the statues and ornaments, and the other proceedings, usual on the capture of cities, will be denied, either by me, on behalf of Marcus Fulvius, or by Marcus Fulvius himself, who intends to demand a triumph from you for those very services, and to carry before his chariot, and fix on the pillars of his house, Ambracia captured, and the statues, the removal of which is charged as criminal, together with the other spoils of that city. There is no kind of pretence for their separating themselves from the Ætolians: the cause of the Ambracians, and of the Ætolians, is the same. Let, therefore, my colleague either vent his malice in some other case; or, if he is determined to proceed in this, let him keep his Ambracians until Marcus Fulvius comes home. I will not suffer any determination, concerning either the Ambracians or Ætolians, to pass in the absence of Marcus Fulvius.”

XLIV. ÆMILIUS, inveighing against the artful malignity of his adversary as notorious to all, affirmed, that he would spin out the time by affected delays, so as not to return to Rome during the consulate of an enemy. Two days were wasted in this dispute, and it was apparent, that, while Flaminius was present, no decision of the cause could be procured. Æmilius, therefore, laid hold of an opportunity, when Flaminius, happening to fall sick, was absent, and, on his proposing the motion, the senate decreed, that “ the Ambracians should have all their effects restored, should enjoy liberty, and the bene-
“ fit

" fit of their own laws, and should levy what duties
 " they should think proper on goods conveyed by
 " land or sea, provided that the Romans and the
 " Latine confederates should be exempted there-
 " from. That, with respect to the statues, and other
 " ornaments, carried away out of their sacred build-
 " ings, as alleged in their complaint, their order
 " was, that, immediately, on the return of Marcus
 " Fulvius to Rome, the business should be laid be-
 " fore the college of pontiffs, and their directions
 " obeyed." Nor was the consul content with this;
 but, afterwards, in a thin meeting, he procured a
 clause to be added to the decree, " that it did not
 " appear that Ambracia was taken by force." A
 supplication, of three days continuance, was then
 performed for the health of the people, on account
 of a grievous pestilence which desolated the city and
 country. The Latine festival was afterwards cele-
 brated, and the consuls, being acquitted of these re-
 ligious duties, and having finished their levies, (for
 they, both of them, chose to employ new soldiers,)
 set out for their provinces, where they disbanded all
 the old troops.

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XLV. SHORTLY after the departure of the con-
 suls, Cneius Manlius, proconsul, arrived at Rome.
 Servius Sulpicius, prætor, assembled the senate in the
 temple of Bellona, to give him audience; when, after
 enumerating the services which he had performed,
 he demanded, that, in consideration thereof, public
 thanks should be offered to the immortal gods, and
 permission be granted to himself, to ride through the
 city in triumph. This was opposed by the greater
 number of the ten ambassadors, who had been in the
 province along with him; and, particularly, by Lu-
 cius Furius Purpureo, and Lucius Æmilius Paulus.
 They represented, that " they had been appointed
 " plenipotentiaries, in conjunction with Manlius, to
 " make peace with Antiochus, and to conclude a
 " treaty,

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" treaty, on the preliminary articles settled with
 " Lucius Scipio. That Cneius Manlius laboured,
 " to the utmost of his power, to obstruct the con-
 " clusion of this peace, and to ensnare Antiochus in
 " an ambuscade, if he had put himself in his power.
 " But, that he, having discovered the treacherous
 " designs of the consul, though frequently tempted
 " by proposals of a conference, was so far from
 " giving him a meeting, that he avoided even the
 " sight of him. So eager was his wish to cross
 " Taurus, that he was with difficulty restrained, by the
 " ten ambassadors, who besought him not to expose
 " himself, voluntarily, to the curse denounced in the
 " Sibylline verses against such as should pass those
 " fatal limits. Nevertheless, he marched his army
 " thither, and encamped almost on the very summit
 " where the waters take opposite directions. As he
 " could find there no sort of pretence for hostilities,
 " the king's subjects being perfectly quiet, he led
 " round his army to the Gallogrecians, and, without
 " any decree of the senate, or order of the people,
 " commenced a war against that nation. Did ever
 " any general, before, presume to act, in like man-
 " ner, on his own judgment? The latest wars were
 " those with Antiochus, with Philip, and with Han-
 " nibal and the Carthaginians; concerning all these
 " the senate had passed its decrees, the people their
 " orders; several embassies were previously sent;
 " restitution demanded; and, finally, heralds were
 " sent to proclaim war. Now, Cneius Manlius,"
 " said they, " what one of these proceedings has been
 " observed in the present case, that we should call
 " that a public war of the Roman people, and not a
 " predatory expedition of your own contrivance?
 " But, did even thus much content you? Did you
 " lead your army against those, whom you had
 " chosen to consider as enemies, by the direct road:
 " or did you ramble through every deflection of the
 " roads; stopping, wherever the roads divided, in
 " order

" order that, to whatever side Eumenes's brother,
 " Attalus, should turn his route, the consul, as an
 " auxiliary in his pay, might follow with a Roman
 " army; and did you not thus ransack every recess
 " and corner of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia;
 " levying contributions from the tyrants and peasants
 " in those remote regions? For, what had you to
 " do with the Oronadians, what with other states
 " equally innocent?

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 Y. R. 561.
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XLVI. " But, to consider, in itself, this war, on
 " the merit of which you ask a triumph: in what
 " manner did you conduct it? Did you fight on
 " equal ground, at a time of your own choosing?
 " Indeed, there is some propriety in your requiring
 " that thanks be returned to the immortal gods;
 " first, because they did not ordain that the army
 " should undergo the penalty deserved by the te-
 " merity of its commander, in commencing a war
 " unjustifiable by any law of nations; and next, be-
 " cause they gave us, for antagonists, brutes, and not
 " men. Do not suppose that the name only of the
 " Gallogrecians is corrupted: their bodies, and their
 " minds were, long before that, corrupted and de-
 " based. Had they been such Gauls as those, with
 " whom we have a thousand times fought, in Italy,
 " with various success, do you think it probable,
 " from the conduct of our commander, that one of
 " us would have returned to tell the story? Two
 " battles were fought with them; twice he advanced
 " against them, through most dangerous places,
 " bringing his army into a valley beneath, and
 " most under the feet of the enemy; so that if they
 " had never discharged a weapon, but only thrown
 " down their naked bodies, from the higher ground,
 " they might have overwhelmed us. What, then,
 " was the consequence? Great is the fortune of the
 " Roman people; great and terrible its name! By
 " the recent downfall of Hannibal, Philip, and An-
 " VOL. V. u tiachus,

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" tiochus, the Gauls were, in a manner, thunder-
 " struck. Bulky as their bodies were, they were
 " dismayed, and put to flight, by slings and arrows;
 " not a sword was blooded in battle during the
 " Gallic war. Like flocks of birds, they flew away
 " at the very sound of our missile weapons. But,
 " indeed, when the same army of us were on our
 " return, and happened to fall in with a party of
 " Thracian robbers, as if fortune meant to teach us
 " what the issue would have been, had we been op-
 " posed by men, we were beaten, routed, and strip-
 " ped of our baggage. Among many brave men
 " fell Quintus Minucius Thermus, whose death was
 " a much greater loss, than if Cneius Manlius, to
 " whose rashness the misfortune was owing, had
 " perished. And an army, carrying home the spoils
 " of king Antiochus, being scattered in three dis-
 " ferent places, the vanguard in one place, the rear
 " in another, and the baggage in a third, hid itself
 " for a night among bushes, in the retirements of
 " wild beasts. Is a triumph demanded for such ex-
 " ploits as these? Although no disaster and disgrace
 " had been suffered in Thrace, over what enemies
 " would you demand a triumph? Over those, I
 " suppose, against whom the Roman senate or people
 " had commissioned you to fight. On this ground
 " was a triumph granted to Lucius Scipio; on the
 " same, to Manius Acilius, over king Antiochus;
 " on the same, a little before, to Titus Quintus, over
 " king Philip; on the same, to Publius Africanus,
 " over Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and Syphax.
 " And, after the senate had voted a declaration of
 " war, these points, small as they are, were never-
 " theless attended to: to whom the declaration ought
 " to be made; whether, to the kings in person; or,
 " whether making it at some of their garrisons, were
 " sufficient? Do you wish, then, that all these rites
 " should be disregarded and profaned? That the
 " laws of the heralds be abrogated? That there
 " should

" should be no heralds? Let religion, (the gods
 " pardon the expression), be thrown aside; retain
 " not a thought of the gods. Do you, also, judge
 " it fit that the senate should not be consulted con-
 " cerning war? That the people should not be
 " asked, whether they choose and order war to be
 " made on the Gauls? On a late occasion, the
 " consuls, certainly, wished for the provinces of
 " Greece and Asia; yet, when you persisted in as-
 " signing Liguria as their province, they obeyed
 " your commands. They will, therefore, if suc-
 " cessful in the war, justly demand a triumph from
 " you, under whose authority they carried it on."

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XLVII. Such were the arguments of Furius and
 Æmilius. Manlius, as we are told, replied in nearly
 the following manner: "Conscript Fathers, formerly
 " the tribunes of the people were accustomed to
 " oppose generals demanding a triumph; and I am
 " thankful to the present for paying so much regard
 " either to me, or to the greatness of my services,
 " as, not only to shew, by their silence, their appo-
 " bation of my pretensions to that honour, but like-
 " wise for having declared themselves ready, if there
 " were occasion, to make a motion to that purpose.
 " It is my lot, it seems, to be opposed by some of
 " the ten ambassadors, the actual council which our
 " ancestors assigned to generals for the purpose of
 " arranging their conquests, and doing honour to
 " their victories. They who forbid me to mount
 " the triumphal chariot, who pluck from my head
 " the crown of honour, are Lucius Furius and Lu-
 " cius Æmilius, the persons whom, if the tribunes
 " had opposed my triumph, I should have cited as
 " witnesses to bear testimony to my services. Con-
 " script Fathers, be assured, I envy no man's ho-
 " nours; but, on a late occasion, when the tribunes
 " of the people, brave and active men, objected
 " to the triumph of Quintus Fabius Labeo, you in-
 " terposed

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“ terposed your influence, and forced them to desist.
 “ He enjoyed a triumph; although, if his adver-
 “ saries were to be believed, he not only did not wage
 “ an unjust war, but he never even saw an enemy.
 “ Whereas I, who fought so many pitched battles
 “ with one hundred thousand of the fiercest ene-
 “ mies; who killed, or made prisoners, more than
 “ forty thousand men; who stormed two of their
 “ camps; who left all the countries, on this side of
 “ the summits of Taurus, in greater tranquillity than
 “ is enjoyed by the country of Italy, am not only
 “ defrauded of a triumph, but obliged, like a cri-
 “ minal, to plead my cause before you, Conscript
 “ Fathers, against charges advanced by my own
 “ council of ambassadors. Conscript Fathers, their
 “ charge, as you perceive, is two-fold: for they as-
 “ serted, that I ought not to have waged war with
 “ the Gauls; and, that my conduct, in the war, was
 “ rash and imprudent. The Gauls were not ene-
 “ mies; but, though they were peaceable, and obe-
 “ dient to orders, you committed hostilities against
 “ them. I do not mean to require of you, Con-
 “ script Fathers, that, as you are well acquainted
 “ with the savage fierceness of the Gallic nation in
 “ general, and with their most inveterate hatred to
 “ the Roman name, you should apply the same
 “ character to that part of them who reside in those
 “ countries. Exclude the infamous and odious cha-
 “ racter of the whole nation, and judge of these
 “ Gauls, separately, by themselves. I wish king
 “ Eumenes, I wish all the states of Asia were pre-
 “ sent, and that you heard their complaints, rather
 “ than my charges, against those people. Send
 “ ambassadors round all the cities of Asia, and ask
 “ them, whether they were relieved from more
 “ grievous servitude by the removal of Antiochus
 “ beyond the summits of Taurus, or by the con-
 “ quest of the Gauls. Let them tell you how often
 “ their territories were ravaged; how often their
 “ property,

" property, and their people, were carried off as
 " prey; while, scarcely ever allowed to ransom any
 " prisoners, they heard of nothing but human vic-
 " tims slain, and their children offered up in sacri-
 " fice. Let me inform you, that your allies paid
 " tribute to these Gauls; and, though delivered
 " now, by you, from the yoke of Antiochus, must
 " still have continued to pay it, if I had lain inactive.
 " The farther Antiochus was removed out of the
 " way, the more licentiously would the Gauls have
 " domineered in Asia; and all the countries, on this
 " of Taurus, you would have annexed to the empire
 " of the Gauls; not to your own.

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XLVIII. " But, allowing all this to be true, say
 " they, the Gauls formerly sacked Delphos, the
 " common oracle, to which all mankind resort, and
 " the central point of the globe of the earth; yet
 " the Roman people did not, on that account,
 " either declare or make war against them. I
 " really thought, that there was some distinction to
 " be made between that period when Greece and
 " Asia were not yet under your jurisdiction and do-
 " minion, that you should care, or concern your-
 " selves about, what passed in those countries, and
 " the present, when you have made mount Taurus
 " the boundary of the Roman empire; when you
 " grant liberty and independence to the states of
 " that country; when you augment the territories
 " of some; amerce others in a part of their lands;
 " impose tribute on others; add to, diminish, give,
 " and take away, kingdoms; and deem it your bu-
 " siness to take care that they may enjoy peace
 " both on land and sea. You thought the liberty
 " of Asia incomplete, unless Antiochus withdrew his
 " garrisons, which lay quiet in their citadels; and
 " can you think, that, if the armies of the Gauls
 " roamed about without control, the grants which
 " you made to king Eumenes would be secure, or
 " the

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“ the liberty of the states entire? But why do I
 “ reason thus? as if I had not found the Gauls ene-
 “ mies, but made them such! I appeal to you,
 “ Lucius Scipio, whose bravery and good fortune,
 “ likelike, I prayed to the immortal gods to grant
 “ me, when I succeeded you in the command; and
 “ I prayed not in vain: and to you, Publius Scipio,
 “ who held, both with your brother, the consul,
 “ and with the army, the commission of a lieute-
 “ nant-general, and the dignity of a colleague:
 “ were the legions of the Gauls, to your know-
 “ ledge, in the army of Antiochus? Did you see
 “ them in his line of battle, posted in both wings;
 “ for there was his main strength? Did you fight
 “ them as declared enemies? Did you kill them?
 “ Did you carry off their spoils? Yet, the senate
 “ had decreed, and the people ordered, war against
 “ Antiochus, not against the Gauls. But I take for
 “ granted, that their decree and order, included, at
 “ the same time, all those who should fight under
 “ his banner; so that, excepting Antiochus, with
 “ whom Scipio had negotiated a peace, and with
 “ whom, specifying him by name, you had directed
 “ a treaty to be concluded, every one who had
 “ borne arms, on the side of Antiochus, against us,
 “ were our enemies. In this light I was to consider
 “ all the Gauls, as well as several petty princes and
 “ tyrants; nevertheless, I made peace with the rest,
 “ after compelling them to atone for their transgres-
 “ sions, as the dignity of your empire required; and
 “ I made trial of the tempers of the Gauls, whether
 “ they could be reclaimed from their natural fero-
 “ city; but, perceiving them untractable and im-
 “ placable, I then judged it necessary to chastise
 “ them by force of arms.

XLIX. “ HAVING fully refuted the charge re-
 “ specting the undertaking of the war, I am now
 “ to account for my conduct in the prosecution of
 “ it,

" it. On this head, indeed, I should perfectly con-
 " fide in the merits of my cause, though I were
 " pleading, not before a Roman, but before a Car-
 " thaginian senate, who are said to crucify their
 " commanders, if they act, even with success, on
 " wrong plans. But in such a state as this, which,
 " in the commencement and progress of every bu-
 " siness, therefore, makes application to the gods,
 " because it suffers not the malicious calumnies of
 " any to prevail against what the gods have ap-
 " proved; and which, in the established form, when
 " it decrees a supplication or triumph, uses these
 " words—' for having conducted the business of
 " ' the public successfully and fortunately; ' if I
 " should be unwilling, if I should think it presump-
 " tuous and arrogant to boast of my own bravery,
 " and if I should demand, in consideration of my
 " own good fortune, and that of my army, in hav-
 " ing vanquished so great a nation, without any loss
 " of men, that thanks should be given to the im-
 " mortal gods, and that I should ascend the Capitol
 " in triumph, from whence I took my departure,
 " with vows duly offered;—would you refuse this
 " to me, and to the immortal gods? Yes; for I
 " fought on unfavourable ground. Tell me, then,
 " on what more favourable ground could I have
 " fought, when the enemy had seized on a moun-
 " tain, and kept themselves in a strong post. Surely,
 " if I wished to conquer them, I must go where they
 " were. What if they had a town on the same
 " spot, and kept within the walls: surely they must
 " be attacked. Did Manlius Acilius fight Antio-
 " chus, at Thermopylæ, on favourable ground?
 " Did not Titus Quintius dislodge Philip when he
 " was posted, in the same manner, on the tops of
 " mountains, over the river Aous? Truly I cannot
 " yet discover what idea they have formed to them-
 " selves, or wish you to form, of the enemy. If
 " they are considered as degenerated and softened

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Y. R. 565.

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“ by the pleasures of Asia, what danger was there
 “ in advancing against them, even on unfavourable
 “ ground? If as formidable, both for fierceness of
 “ courage, and strength of body, do you refuse a
 “ triumph to victories so honourable? Conscript
 “ Fathers, such is the perverted vision of envy,
 “ that it is only capable of depreciating merit, and
 “ poisoning its honours and rewards. Pardon me,
 “ I beseech you, Conscript Fathers, for detaining
 “ you with too long a discourse, forced from me,
 “ not by any desire of blazoning my own merits,
 “ but by the necessity of exculpating myself from
 “ the imputations brought against me. Was it, let
 “ me ask, in my power to alter the face of the
 “ country throughout Thrace, to turn narrow de-
 “ files into open ground, steep precipices into level
 “ plains, woods into fields; and to prevent a band
 “ of Thracian robbers from lurking in those con-
 “ cealments which they were acquainted with; that
 “ none of our packages should be snatched away,
 “ none of our loaded horses, out of so large a train,
 “ led off; that not one should be wounded; and
 “ that the brave and active Lucius Minucius should
 “ not die of his wound? On this mischance, by
 “ which it happened, unfortunately, that we lost so
 “ valuable a citizen, those men declaim profusely.
 “ That the enemy attacked us in a dangerous pass,
 “ where every advantage of ground was against us;
 “ that our two divisions, the front and the rear,
 “ were, at once, surrounding the army of the bar-
 “ barians, while they were employed about our
 “ baggage; that we killed and took prisoners many
 “ thousands on that day; and, in a few days after,
 “ many more. Do they imagine that these facts
 “ can be kept from your knowledge, by their passing
 “ them over in silence, although the whole army can
 “ testify the truth of what I assert? If I had never
 “ drawn a sword in Asia, if I had never seen an
 “ enemy there, yet, by the two battles fought in
 “ Thrace,

" Thrace, I had merited a triumph. But I shall
 " say no more on the subject; and shall only re-
 " quest, and, I trust, obtain, your pardon, Conscrip-
 " t Fathers, for having trespassed longer upon your
 " patience than I could have wished to have done."

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L. THE charges would have been judged valid, that day, notwithstanding his defence, had not the dispute been drawn out to a late hour; and the senate, when it adjourned, appeared in a disposition to refuse the triumph. Next day, the relations and friends of Cneius Manlius exerted their utmost efforts in his behalf; and the votes were led by the opinion of the elder senators, who asserted, that there was no instance on record of a commander who had subdued the enemy, completed the business of his province, and brought home his army, entering the city as a private citizen, without honours, and without the chariot and laurel. The sense of this impropriety got the better of their prejudices against him, and a great majority voted for his triumph. All mention and thought of this contention was soon banished by a greater contest, which was set on foot against a greater and more illustrious personage. The two Pedillii, as Valerius Antias writes, instituted a prosecution against Publius Scipio Africanus. This proceeding was variously construed, according to peoples different dispositions; some blamed not the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, that could suffer such a process to be carried on. They observed, that " the two
 " greatest states in the world proved, nearly at the
 " same time, ungrateful to their chief commanders:
 " but Rome the more ungrateful of the two; be-
 " cause Carthage was subdued when she sent the
 " vanquished Hannibal into exile; whereas Rome,
 " when victorious, was banishing Africanus, who
 " procured her the victory." Others asserted, that
 " no one citizen ought to stand so high above the

" rest,

BOOK XXXVIII. " rest, as not to be made answerable to the laws for
 Y. R. 565. " his conduct; for nothing contributed so much to-
 B. C. 187. " wards maintaining the equipoise of liberty, as that
 " the most powerful might be brought to trial. For,
 " how could any charge, especially the administra-
 " tion of government, be safely intrusted to any
 " man, if he were not liable to be called to an ac-
 " count? If there were any who could not endure
 " an equality of rights, against such, force might
 " justly be employed." Such were the common
 topics of conversation, until the day of trial came.
 Never, on any former occasion, was either any other
 person, or Scipio himself, when consul or censor,
 escorted to the Forum by more numerous multi-
 tudes of people, of all kinds, than he was on that
 day, when he appeared to answer to the charge
 against him. When ordered to make his defence,
 without taking any notice of the facts laid to his
 charge, he delivered a speech, in which he set forth
 his own exploits in such splendid terms, that it was
 universally agreed, that no man's praises had been
 ever represented either to more advantage, or with
 more truth. For he spoke with the same ardent
 spirit, and powerful genius, which had ever animated
 his conduct in discharging the duties of his office:
 nor did his speech excite any disgust in the hearers;
 as it arose from the peril of his situation, not from
 motives of ostentation.

LI. THE plebeian tribunes, in order to procure
 credit to their present accusations, introduced the
 old imputations of his luxurious style of living in his
 winter-quarters at Syracuse; and the tumult raised
 by Pleminius at Locri. And then they brought for-
 ward against him the charge of receiving money;
 which they grounded on suspicions, not on proofs.
 They alleged, that " his son, being taken prisoner,
 " was restored without ransom; and that, in every
 " other instance, Antiochus paid his court to him,
 " as

" as if peace and war with Rome were at his sole
 " disposal. He had acted towards the consul, in
 " his province, as dictator, not as lieutenant-general;
 " nor had he gone thither with any other view than
 " to propagate in Greece and Asia, and among all
 " the kings and nations eastward, the same opinion
 " which, at the same time, prevailed in Spain, Gaul,
 " Sicily, and Africa, that he, alone, was the head
 " and pillar of the Roman empire; that a state,
 " which was mistress of the world, lay sheltered
 " under the shade of Scipio; and that his nods were
 " equivalent to decrees of the senate, and orders of
 " the people." Finding him invulnerable against
 all attacks upon his honour, they assailed him with
 the shafts of envy. The pleading having lasted till
 night, the trial was adjourned to another day. When
 that came, the tribunes took their seat in the rostrum
 at the dawn of day. The accused, being summoned,
 came, with a numerous train of friends and dependants,
 through the middle of the assembly, to the rostrum,
 and, silence being made, he said,—
 " Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans: on
 " this day I fought a pitched battle, in Africa, with
 " Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and found good
 " fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent
 " that a stop be put, for this day, to litigation
 " and wrangling, I will, immediately, go to the Capitol,
 " there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter
 " supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva,
 " and the other deities presiding over the Capitol
 " and citadel, and will give them thanks, for having,
 " on this day, and at many other times, endowed me
 " both with the will, and ability, to perform
 " extraordinary services to the commonwealth. Such
 " of you, also, Romans, as can, conveniently, come
 " with me, and beseech the gods that you may have
 " commanders like me; since, from my seventeenth
 " year to old age, you have always anticipated my
 " years with honours, and I, your honours,

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“nours, with services.” Accordingly, he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol; and, at the same time, the whole assembly turned about and followed him; insomuch, that, at last, even the clerks and messengers left the tribunes, and not one staid with them, except the slaves who attended them, and the crier, whose office it was to summon, from the rostrum, those who were under prosecution. Scipio, attended by the whole body of the Roman people, went round all the temples of the gods, not only in the Capitol, but throughout the whole city. This day afforded more ample testimony of the favour of the public, and a clearer estimate of his real greatness, than that on which he rode through the city in triumph over king Syphax and the Carthaginians.

LII. It was, however, the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio. For, as he could foresee nothing but the persecutions of envy, and continual disputes with the tribunes, before the day to which the hearing of the cause was adjourned, he retired to Linternum, with a fixed determination not to attend the trial. His natural temper and spirit were so lofty, and he had been habituated to such an elevated course of fortune, that he did not know how to act the part of an accused person, and to stoop to the humble deportment of persons arraigned. When the day came, on his not appearing, he was called by the crier, and Lucius Scipio offered as an excuse, that his absence was caused by sickness. This excuse the tribunes, who were the prosecutors, would not admit, but insisted, that his not coming to answer the charges against him, was owing to the same arrogance with which he left the trial, the tribunes of the people, and the general assembly; and, attended by the very men whom he had robbed of the right of passing sentence on him, together with their freedom of suffrage, had dragged them after him, as prisoners, and exhibited a triumph over the Roman people;

people; having made a secession, that day, from the tribunes to the Capitol. "You have, therefore," said they, "the due reward of that thoughtless conduct. You are, yourselves, forsaken by him, under whose lead and direction you forsook us. And so much is the Roman spirit daily on the decline, that, although, seventeen years ago, when he was at the head of an army and fleet, we had resolution enough to send plebeian tribunes and an ædile into Sicily to take him into custody, and bring him home to Rome; yet we dare not, now, when he is a private citizen, send to compel him to come from his country-seat to stand his trial." Lucius Scipio appealing to the tribunes of the commons, they came to this determination, that, "as sickness had been pleaded in his excuse, it was their judgment that this excuse should be admitted, and that their colleagues should adjourn the hearing of the cause."

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LIII. TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS was, at that time, a plebeian tribune, and between him and Publius Scipio there was an enmity subsisting. He had forbidden his name to be subscribed to the determination of his colleague, and every one expected from him a sentence more severe, when he pronounced his judgment thus: that, "inasmuch as Lucius Scipio had pleaded sickness in excuse for his brother, that plea appeared to him to be sufficient: that he would not suffer any farther proceeding against Publius Scipio until he should return to Rome; and even then, if he appealed to him, he would support him in refusing to abide a trial: that Publius Scipio, by his great achievements, by the honours received from the Roman people, by the joint consent of gods and men, had risen to such a height of dignity, that, were he to stand as a criminal, under the rostrum, and be obliged to listen to the opprobrious language of
"youthful

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“ youthful petulance, it would reflect more disgrace
 “ on the Roman people, than on him.” After pro-

nouncing this judgment, he added, with much indig-

nation, “ Shall Scipio, the celebrated conqueror of

“ Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes? Was it

“ for this he defeated and routed, in Spain, four of

“ the most distinguished generals of the Carthagi-

“ nians, and their four armies? Was it for this he

“ took Syphax prisoner, conquered Hannibal, made

“ Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antio-

“ chus beyond mount Taurus; for in the glory of

“ this, Lucius Scipio was associated with his brother

“ as partner; that he should crouch under two Pe-

“ tillii; that you should gain the palm of victory

“ over Publius Africanus? Will men of illustrious

“ characters, never, through their own merits, or

“ through public honours, arrive at a safe and in-

“ violable sanctuary, where their old age may re-

“ pose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?”

Both his determination, and his subsequent discourse,

made a deep impression, not only on the rest of the

assembly but even on the prosecutors; who said,

that they would consider further what might be con-

sistent with their rights and duties. As soon as the

assembly of the people broke up, the senate met, and

there the warmest thanks were bestowed by the whole

body, especially by the consular and elder members,

on Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the

public good in preference to private animosity; and

the severest reproaches were thrown on the Petillii,

for having attempted to bring themselves into notice

by exciting the displeasure of the public against an-

other, and for seeking to gather spoils from a tri-

umph over Africanus. After that, Africanus was

no more mentioned. He spent the remainder of

his life at Liternum, without a wish to revisit the

city; and it is said, that, when he was dying, he

ordered his body to be buried there, at his own

country-seat, and his monument to be erected there,

that

that even his funeral should not be performed in his ungrateful country. He was a man of eminent merit; but that merit more conspicuous in affairs of war, than in those of peace. The former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter; because, in his early years, he was continually employed in military commands; as he advanced to old age the lustre of his conduct was somewhat faded, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents. His second consulship, even if we add to it the censorship, was far from being equally brilliant with the first. Nor can we compare with it his commission in Asia, rendered useless by want of health, and clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity which it brought him under, after his return, of either undergoing a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he enjoyed, alone, the distinguished honour of putting an end to the Carthaginian war, by far the most difficult and dangerous one which the Roman state was ever engaged in.

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LIV. THE death of Africanus increased the courage of his enemies, the chief of whom was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, even during his life, allowed himself to sneer at his splendid character. It was thought, that it was he who instigated the Petillii both to commence the action against Africanus during his life, and to propose an order against him after his death. The motion for the order was made in these words: "Romans, is it your will to order, with respect to the money taken, carried off, and collected from king Antiochus, and those under his government, and with respect to such part thereof as has not been accounted for to the public, that Servius Sulpicius, the city prætor, shall ask the judgment of the senate, which of the present prætors the senate shall appoint to hold an inquiry concerning those matters?" This motion was,

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was, at first, objected to by Quintus and Lucius Mummius, who declared, as their opinion, that according to the practice always hitherto observed, the senate should make the inquiry concerning money unaccounted for to the public. The Petillii, in opposition, represented the great influence, the sovereign power, which the Scipio's possessed in the senate. Lucius Furius Purpureo, a senator of consular rank, who had been one of the ten ambassadors in Asia, was of opinion, that the inquiry ought to be carried to a wider extent; not only to the money taken from Antiochus, but to what had been taken from other kings and nations. This blow he aimed at his enemy Cneius Manlius. Lucius Scipio, who, as every one knew, was arguing rather in favour of himself, than against the order, stood forward to oppose the motion. He complained heavily of such a motion being brought on after the death of his brother, Publius Africanus, the bravest and most illustrious of men. For, "it had not been deemed sufficient that
 " no panegyric was pronounced, from the rostrum,
 " on Africanus after his death, but accusations of
 " misconduct were also exhibited against him. The
 " Carthaginians had been content with the banishment of Hannibal, but the Roman people would
 " not be satisfied even with the death of Publius
 " Scipio, unless, after he was laid in his grave, his
 " character were mangled, and his brother also sacrificed another victim to envy." Marcus Cato supported the motion in a speech on the money of king Antiochus, which is still extant; and, by his influence, prevailed on the Mummii, the two tribunes, to drop their opposition to the order. On their withdrawing their intended protest, every one of the tribes voted in favour of the motion.

LV. SERVIUS SULPICIUS then put the question to the senate, whom they would appoint, according to the Petillian order of the people, to hold the inquiry;

quity; and they appointed Quintus Terentius Culleo: Before this prætor, who was so warmly attached to the Cornelian family, that, according to the account of those writers who say that Publius Scipio died and was buried at Rome, (for that, too, is asserted), this man walked at his funeral before the bier with a cap of liberty on his head, as he had done before at his triumph; and, at the Capuan gate, gave wine and honey to those who attended the funeral, to shew his gratitude for having been recovered by him, among other captives, out of the hands of the enemy in Africa: or, as others say, so great an enemy to that family, that, on account of his known animosity, the faction that supported the proceedings against the Scipios, singled out him, particularly, to hold the inquiry. However that may be, whether he was too favourable, or too much the contrary, before him, Lucius Scipio was immediately arraigned. At the same time charges were presented, and received, against his lieutenant-generals, the two Hostilius Catos, Aulus, and Lucius; and his quæstor, Caius Furius Aculeo: and, that it might seem as if every one were infected with the contagion of peculation, against his two secretaries and crier, Lucius Hostilius. The secretaries and the crier were acquitted before Scipio was tried. Scipio, and Aulus Hostilius, lieutenant-general, and Caius Furius, were convicted, and judgment was pronounced, that, “as bribes, for granting more favourable terms of peace to Antiochus, Scipio had received, over and above what he brought into the treasury, six thousand pounds weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty of silver; Aulus Hostilius, eighty pounds of gold, and four hundred and three of silver; and Furius, the quæstor, one hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver.” These sums of gold and silver I find mentioned by Antias. As to what regards Lucius Scipio, I suspect some mistake of the

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transcriber, rather than a falsehood of the historian, respecting the amount of the gold and silver. For it is more probable that the weight of silver was greater than that of gold, and that the fine was laid at four millions *, than at twenty-four millions of sesterces †. And this I am the more inclined to believe, as it is recorded, that an account of that sum being demanded from Publius Scipio himself, in the senate, he desired his brother Lucius to bring the book which contained the account, which he took and tore to pieces, with his own hands, before their eyes, at the same time expressing indignation at being called to an account for four millions after he had brought two hundred millions ‡ into the treasury. From the same magnanimity of spirit, when the quaestors would not venture to bring money out of the treasury, contrary to law, he demanded the keys, and declared, that he would open the treasury, as he had caused it to be shut.

LVI. THERE are so many contradictory accounts respecting the latter part, particularly, of Scipio's life, his trial, death, funeral, and sepulchre, that I cannot determine which tradition, or which writings I ought to credit. Writers do not agree as to his accuser; some affirming that Marcus Nævius, others that the Petillii, instituted the prosecution; neither are they agreed as to the time when the prosecution was carried on, nor the year in which he died, nor the place where he died, or was buried. Some assert, that he died and was buried at Rome; others, at Liternum; and in both places monuments and statues of him are shewn. For, at Liternum, there was a monument, and on it stood his statue, which we ourselves saw lately lying on the ground, where it had been thrown down by a storm. And at Rome, on the monument of the Scipios, outside

* 3229l. 13s. 4d. † 193,750l. ‡ 1,624,583l. 6s. 8d.

the Capuan gate, are three statues, two of which are said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Quintus Ennius. Nor do these differences subsist between historians only, but likewise the speeches attributed to Publius Scipio and Tiberius Gracchus, if they really are theirs, differ widely from one another. In the title of Publius Scipio's speech is the name of Marcus Nævius, plebeian tribune; but, in the speech itself, the prosecutor is not named, it only calls him sometimes a knave, sometimes a trisler. Even the speech of Gracchus makes no mention of the Petilliuses accusing Africanus, or of the prosecution carried on against him. The whole story must be framed after another model, to make it consistent with the speech of Gracchus; and those writers must be followed who affirm, that, at the time when Lucius Scipio was impeached, and convicted of having taken money from the king, Africanus was a lieutenant-general in Etruria; whence, on hearing the misfortune of his brother, throwing up his commission, he hastened to Rome, and proceeding straight from the gate to the Forum, being told that his brother had been ordered into confinement, he drove away the officer from his person; and, on the tribunes attempting to detain him, laid violent hands on them, shewing more affection to his brother, than regard to the laws. For, of these acts, Gracchus himself complained, and says, that the tribunitian power was annulled by a private citizen; and, at last, when he promises support to Lucius Scipio, he adds, that the precedent would be the more tolerable, if both the tribunitian power and the state appeared to be overpowered by a tribune of the commons, than if by a private citizen. But such was the manner in which he loaded him with reproaches for this single instance in his conduct of intemperate violence, that, while he charged him with having degenerated so far from himself, he displayed his long established

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praises for moderation, and government of his passions, in such strong terms, as to make ample amends for the present reprehension. For he said, that Scipio formerly rebuked the people severely for their intention of making him perpetual consul and dictator; that he hindered statues to be erected to him in the Comitium, in the Rostrum, in the senate-house, in the Capitol, in the chapel of Jupiter's temple; and that he prevented a decree being passed, ordering his image, in a triumphal habit, to be brought in procession out of the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great. Such particulars as these, even if inserted in a professed panegyric, would demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, in moderating honours conformably to the temper of a constitution founded on an equality of rights; but, here, they are acknowledged by an enemy, at the very time that he was employed in censuring him.

LVII. It is universally agreed, that the younger of Scipio's two daughters was married to this Gracchus; for the elder was, undoubtedly, disposed of, by her father, to Publius Cornelius Nasica. But it is not so certain, whether she was both betrothed and married, after her father's death, or whether we are to credit those accounts which say, that, when the officers were taking Scipio to prison, and no other of the tribunes interfered to protect him, Gracchus swore, that "the same enmity, which he had entertained against the Scipios, still subsisted; and that he did not, by any act of his, seek to gain their favour. But that, having seen Publius Africanus leading the kings and generals of enemies to the prison, he would never suffer his brother to be led to the same place." That the senators, happening to sup that day in the Capitol, rose up, together, and requested of Africanus, before the company broke up, to contract his daughter to Gracchus: that the contract was, accordingly, executed in

in due form, in the presence of this assembly; and that Scipio, on his return home, told his wife Æmilia, that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter. That she, feeling her female pride hurt, expressed some resentment on not having been consulted in the disposal of their common child, and added, that, even were he giving her to Tiberius Gracchus, her mother ought not to be kept in ignorance of his intention; to which Scipio, rejoiced at her judgment concurring so entirely with his own, replied, that, that was the man, he had betrothed her to. These circumstances respecting so great a man, though variously represented, both in traditionary and written relations, I thought not fit to be passed over in silence.

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LVIII. ON the proceedings being finished by the prætor, Quintus Terentius, Hostilius and Furius were condemned, and gave securities the same day to the city quæstors. Scipio insisted, that all the money, received by him, was in the treasury, and that he had not in his possession any thing whatsoever belonging to the public; on which he was ordered to prison. Publius Scipio Nasica, then, appealed to the tribunes, and made a speech fraught with just encomiums, not only on the Cornelian family in general, but, on his own branch of it, in particular. "His father," he said, "and the father of Publius Africanus, and Lucius Scipio, who was now ordered to prison, were Cneius and Publius Scipio, men of the most illustrious characters; who, by their conduct in war, through a long course of years, against many commanders, and many armies, of the Carthaginians and Spaniards, highly enhanced the reputation of the Roman name, in the land of Spain; and that, not only by their military exploits, but also by exhibiting, to the nations of that country, shining examples of the Roman moderation and fidelity; and both, at last, met their death

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“ death in the service of the Roman people. Al-
 “ though their descendants might have contented
 “ themselves with supporting the glory derived from
 “ them, yet Publius Africanus so far surpassed his
 “ father’s renown, as to occasion a belief that he
 “ was not born of the human race, but was of divine
 “ extraction. As to Lucius Scipio, the person then
 “ concerned, to pass over his exploits in Spain and
 “ in Africa, while he acted as lieutenant-general to
 “ his brother, on his being elected consul, so high
 “ did he stand in the estimation of the senate, that
 “ they thought proper to assign to him the province
 “ of Asia, and the war with Antiochus, by a special
 “ order, without leaving it to the decision of the
 “ lots; and, in that of his brother, that, after having
 “ been honoured with two consulships, the censor-
 “ ship, and a triumph, he thought fit to attend him
 “ into Asia, in quality of lieutenant-general. There,
 “ that the great and splendid character of the lieu-
 “ tenant might not eclipse the fame of the consul, it
 “ so happened, that, on the day when Lucius Scipio
 “ conquered Antiochus, in a pitched battle at Mag-
 “ nesia, Publius Scipio was absent, at the distance
 “ of several days journey, being detained by sickness
 “ at Illaæ. The army of the enemy, on that oc-
 “ casion, was not inferior to that of Hannibal, when
 “ the battle was fought with him, in Africa; and the
 “ same Hannibal, who was general in chief, in the
 “ Carthaginian war, was one, among many other
 “ generals then present, on the king’s side. The
 “ war indeed was so conducted, that no one
 “ could throw blame even on fortune. A ground
 “ of accusation is sought for, in the peace, and
 “ people say that it was sold. This charge is as ap-
 “ plicable to the ten ambassadors, in pursuance of
 “ whose counsel the peace was concluded. Some
 “ of the ten ambassadors had even stood forth as
 “ accusers of Cneius Manlius, yet their accusation
 “ was so far from gaining credit to their charges,
 “ that

“ that it did not produce even a delay of his triumph.

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LIX. “ BUT, truly, the very articles of the peace
“ afford grounds of suspicion, respecting Scipio, as
“ being too favourable to Antiochus. For his en-
“ tire kingdom has been left to him: although con-
“ quered, he retains possession of every thing that
“ belonged to him, before the war; and though he
“ had an immense quantity of gold and silver, none
“ of it has been applied to the use of the public: all
“ has been converted to private purposes. Now,
“ was there not a larger quantity of gold and silver
“ carried before the eyes of the public, in the tri-
“ umph of Lucius Scipio, than in ten other triumphs
“ taken together? And why need I speak of the
“ extent of the kingdom of Antiochus, or mention
“ his having been in possession of all Asia, and the
“ adjoining parts of Europe? Every body knows
“ what a large portion of the surface of the earth
“ that is, which stretches from mount Taurus quite
“ to the Ægean sea; what a number, not only of
“ cities, but of nations, it comprehends; and that
“ this tract, as far as the summit of mount Taurus,
“ more than thirty days journey in length, and ten
“ in breadth, from one sea to the other, has been
“ taken from Antiochus, who has been thereby re-
“ moved to the most distant corner of the world?
“ Now, if peace had been granted him, without any
“ pecuniary retribution, could more have been taken
“ from him? Macedonia was left to Philip, after
“ he was conquered; Lacedæmon to Nabis; yet
“ Quintius was never accused on that account. The
“ reason was, that he had not Africanus for a bro-
“ ther, whose high renown ought to have been ser-
“ viceable to Lucius Scipio; but, instead of that,
“ envy of his merit had done him injury. The
“ sentence mentioned a quantity of gold and silver
“ being conveyed to the house of Lucius Scipio,

BOOK " greater than could be raised from the sale of his
 XXXVIII. " whole property. Where, then, was all this royal
 Y. R. 565. " treasure, where the value of so many estates re-
 B. C. 187. " ceived? Surely in a house, not exhausted by ex-
 " travagance, this new accumulation of wealth ought
 " to appear. But what cannot be levied out of his
 " effects, the enemies of Lucius Scipio will exact
 " from his person, and from his very flesh, by vex-
 " atious persecution and insult; by shutting up a
 " man of his illustrious character, in a prison, among
 " thieves and robbers; forcing him to breathe his
 " last in a dungeon, and in darkness, and then throw-
 " ing his naked corpse before the prison door. Such
 " proceedings will reflect more disgrace on the city
 " of Rome, than they will on the Cornelian fa-
 " mily."

LX. IN answer to this, the prætor, Terentius, read the Petillian order of the people, the decree of the senate, and the judgment pronounced against Lucius Scipio, and declared, that unless the money adjudged were paid into the public treasury, he had no other step to take, than to order the person convicted to be taken into custody, and carried to prison. The tribunes retired to confer together, and, in a short time after, Caius Fannius, in behalf of himself and all his colleagues, except Gracchus, declared, that the tribunes would not interfere with the prætor, to hinder his making use of his power. Tiberius Gracchus pronounced his determination thus: that " he
 " would not protest against the prætor's levying the
 " sum adjudged out of the effects of Lucius Scipio:
 " but that Lucius Scipio, who had subdued the most
 " powerful king in the world, had extended the
 " empire of the Roman people to the utmost limits
 " of the earth, had bound under obligations to the
 " Roman people king Eumenes, the Rhodians, and
 " so many other states of Asia, and had led in tri-
 " umph and shut up in prison so many generals of
 " the

" the enemies, should lie in prison, among the ene-
 " mies of the Roman people, and in chains, he
 " never would suffer; and therefore he ordered him
 " to be discharged." This decision was heard with
 such approbation, so happy were the people at see-
 ing Lucius Scipio discharged, that it could hardly be
 supposed that the sentence had been passed in the
 same community. The prætor, then, sent the quæ-
 tors to take possession of Lucius Scipio's property,
 for the use of the public. But, so far from any trace
 appearing of money received from the king, the sale
 did not produce near as much as the sum in which
 he was fined. So large a contribution of money was
 made for Lucius Scipio, by his relations, friends and
 dependants, that, if he had accepted it, he would
 have been much richer than before this misfortune;
 but he would accept nothing. Such things as were
 necessary for his family occasions, were purchased
 for him at the sale by his nearest relations, and the
 public hatred, which had been pointed against the
 Scipios, reverted on the prætor, his assessors, and the
 accusers.

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XXXVIII.

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B. C. 187.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XXXIX.

Marcus Æmilius, consul, having subdued the Ligurians, makes a new road from Placentia to Ariminum, where it joins the Flaminian way. Luxury introduced by the troops who had served in Asia. All the Ligurians, on the hither side of the Apennine, completely subdued. The Bacchanalian rites, borrowed from the Greeks, and celebrated by night, cause great alarm; are investigated by the consul; suppressed, and many of those concerned in them punished. Lucius Quintius Flamininus expelled the senate, by the censors, for fugitious conduct. Scipio dies at Liternum. Hannibal poisons himself, to avoid being given up to the Romans by Prusias, king of Bithynia. Philopamen, the famous Achaean general, put to death by the Messinians. Successful operations against the Carthaginians. Another Macedonian war; causes and origin of it.

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XXXIX.Y. R. 565.
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1. **W**HILE these transactions passed at Rome, (if they are to be dated in this year), both the consuls were employed in the war with the Ligurians. This people seemed, in some measure, intended by nature for the purpose of preserving military discipline among the Romans, by its opposition to their arms, during the intervals between important wars; nor was any province better calculated to form a soldier to active valour. For, as to Asia, from the enticing pleasures

pleasures of its cities, the abundance of every production, both of land and sea, the unwarlike temper of its inhabitants, and the wealth of its princes, how much soever it might enrich the Roman armies, it contributed nothing towards the improvement of their courage. Under the command of Cneius Manlius, particularly, the troops were suffered to run into idleness and licentiousness. The consequence of which was, that, meeting in Thrace a passage somewhat more difficult, and an enemy of rather more vigour than they had been accustomed to, they suffered a repulse with severe loss. Whereas in Liguria there was every circumstance that could invigorate the courage of soldiers; the face of the country, mountainous and rugged, so that even the taking possession of unoccupied posts, and much more the dislodging of an enemy already in possession, was attended with much labour; the roads hilly, narrow, and exposed to danger from ambuscades; the enemy light, active, and brisk in their motions, so as to allow no rest or remissness, at any season, or in any place; a number of strong forts, necessarily to be attacked, with much toil and danger; and the country so poor, as to constrain the soldier to a sparing mode of living, while it afforded but a small share of booty. Accordingly, no sutler followed the army, no long train of baggage, horses extended its line of march, nothing was to be seen but arms, and men who had no other hope but in their arms. Nor did those people ever cease to afford either subject, or cause, for hostilities; for, their own country being poor, they made frequent incursions on the territories of their neighbours; ever avoiding, however, an engagement that might effectually disable them.

II. THE consul, Caius Flaminius, after frequently defeating the Frinian Ligurians, in their own country, received the submission of that tribe, and ordered

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dered them to deliver up their arms; but, having acted dishonestly in the delivery of them, and being reproved for their behaviour, they abandoned their villages, and fled to the mountain called Auginus, whither the consul immediately followed them. At his approach a part of the enemy again betook themselves to flight; and, running with precipitate haste, the greatest part without arms, over pathless tracts and rocky precipices, where an enemy could not pursue, they got away, in this manner, beyond the Apennine; the rest, who remained in the camp, were surrounded and reduced by assault. The legions were then led over the Apennine, where the enemy, assisted by the height of the mountain, where they had posted themselves, at first, stood on their defence; but, in a little time, submitted. A more careful search was now made for their arms, which were all taken from them. The army, next, marched against the Apuan tribe of Ligurians, who, by their inroads, had infested the territories of Pisa and Bononia to such a degree, that the inhabitants could not till their grounds. These the consul entirely subdued, and thereby restored peace to the neighbourhood. Having now secured the province against any disturbance from an enemy, that he might not keep the soldiers in a state of idleness, he made a road all the way from Bononia to Anetium. The other consul, Marcus Æmilius, ravaged with fire and sword the lands of the Ligurians, and their villages that stood in the plains, while the inhabitants remained posted on two mountains, Ballista and Sufimontius. He then attacked those on the mountains, harassed them for some time with slight attacks, and, at last, compelled them to come to a regular engagement, in which he utterly defeated them. During the fight he vowed a temple to Diana. Having now reduced all on the hither side of the Apennine, he marched against those on the other side of that mountain; among whom were the
Brinian

Brinian tribe, which had not been attacked by Flaminius. Æmilius subdued them all, stripped them of their arms, and obliged the multitude to come down from the mountains into the plains. Peace being thus established in Liguria, he led his army into the Gallic territory, and drew a road from Placentia to Ariminum, to meet that made by Flaminius. During the last engagement, when he fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Imperial Juno. Such were the transactions of this year in Liguria.

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III. IN Gaul, the prætor, Marcus Furius, seeking a pretext for war, in the midst of peace, deprived the Cænomanians of their arms, although no charge of guilt had been proved against them. Of this they complained to the senate at Rome, and were by them referred to the consul Æmilius, whom the senate authorised to examine into and determine the cause. After a strong contest with the prætor it was decided in favour of the Cænomanians; their arms were restored, and the prætor was ordered to quit the province. The senate, afterwards, gave audience to envoys of the Latine confederates, who had come, in great numbers, from all parts of Latium. They complained, that a great multitude of their citizens had removed to Rome, and had been rated there in the survey; on which a commission was given to Quintus Terentius Culleo, the prætor, to make inquiry after such persons; and, on the allies proving that those persons, themselves, or their fathers, had been rated in the surveys of any of their states in the censorship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius, or at any time subsequent to their censorship, he was ordered to compel all such to return to the several states wherein they had been so rated. In consequence of this inquiry, twelve thousand Latines returned home; so much was the city, even at that early period, burdened by an influx of foreigners.

IV.

IV. BEFORE the consuls came home to Rome, Marcus Fulvius, proconsul, returned from Ætolia. He, as usual, recited to the senate, in the temple of Apollo, the services which he had performed in Ætolia and Cephallenia, and then requested of the Fathers, that, in consideration of his having conducted the business of the public with good fortune and success, they would be pleased to order public thanks to be offered to the immortal gods, and to decree a triumph to him. Marcus Abutius, a plebeian tribune, gave notice, that, if any thing were determined on that subject, before the arrival of the consul, Marcus Æmilius, he would enter his protest: for "the consul intended to oppose that measure; and, at his setting out for his province, had given him a charge to keep the discussion of it open until he should come home. Fulvius," he said, "would lose nothing by this, but time; for, notwithstanding the presence of the consul, the senate would determine according to its own judgment." Fulvius replied, that, "even if people did not know that there was a quarrel subsisting between him and Marcus Æmilius, or with what overbearing, and, in some measure, tyrannical rancour, that man prosecuted his enmity; yet it would be insufferable, that the absence of the consul should both obstruct the worship of the immortal gods, and delay a triumph due to merit; that a commander, after performing signal services, and his victorious army, with its booty and prisoners, should remain outside the gates, until a consul, who purposely delayed abroad, should be pleased to return to Rome. But, in the present case, when the animosity between him and the consul was most notorious, what fair dealing could be expected from a man who procured clandestinely, in a thin house, and lodged in the treasury, a decree of senate, that 'it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force:' a town which

" was

" was attacked with mounds and engines; where,
 " after the works were burned, others were con-
 " structed anew; where a fight was carried on for
 " fifteen days, round the walls, both above and
 " under ground; where, from the first dawn, when
 " the soldiers mounted the walls, the battle lasted
 " until night, and was, for a great part of the time,
 " doubtful; and where more than three thou-
 " sand of the enemy were killed? Then again,
 " what a malicious misrepresentation did he make
 " to the pontiffs, of the temples of the immortal
 " gods being plundered in a captured city? If it
 " were not allowable that Rome should be deco-
 " rated with the ornaments of Syracuse, and other
 " captured cities, then let Ambracia be the single
 " instance, of a captured city exempted from the
 " laws of war. For his part, he besought the Con-
 " script Fathers, and requested the tribunes, not to
 " suffer him to become a subject of derision to an
 " enemy, who had acted, all along, with the most
 " overbearing arrogance."

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V. EVERY one present felt the force of what he
 urged; and some intreated the tribune to desist,
 while others sharply reproved his conduct. But
 what affected him most, was a speech of his col-
 league, Tiberius Gracchus, who said, that " for a
 " man in office to prosecute even his own quarrels,
 " was an example of no good tendency; but, that
 " a tribune of the people should take upon him-
 " self to be a solicitor, in the quarrel of another, was
 " infamous, and highly unworthy of the power and
 " sacred laws of the order to which he belonged.
 " It was right, that every man should love or hate
 " other men, approve or disapprove of incasures,
 " according to the dictates of their own judgment;
 " but not that a tribune should depend on the look
 " or nod of another man, veer about at the move-
 " ments of another's will, and make himself a tool
 " to

“ to the resentment of a consul; remember a private charge, committed to him by Marcus Æmilius, and forget that the tribuneship was a public charge, committed to him by the Roman people, for the aiding and maintaining the liberty of private citizens, not to aggrandize the arbitrary power of a consul. His colleague did not seem to consider, that this circumstance would be recorded and handed down to posterity; that, of two plebeian tribunes of the same college, one sacrificed his own resentment to the public good, the other accepted the employment of prosecuting the resentment of another man.” Overcome by these severe rebukes the tribune withdrew from the meeting, and Servius Sulpicius, the prætor, having put the question, a triumph was voted to Marcus Fulvius. He returned thanks to the Conscrip Fathers; and then mentioned, that, “ on the day of his taking Ambracia, he had vowed to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great; that a contribution for that purpose had been made to him by the several states, amounting to one hundred and ten pounds weight of gold; and he requested them to order that sum to be set apart, out of the money which he was to deposit in the treasury, after his triumph.” The senate ordered the college of pontiffs to be consulted, whether it were necessary that the whole of that sum should be expended on the games; and the pontiffs having answered, that the amount of the expence was a point in which religion was no wise concerned, the senate gave permission to Fulvius to expend as much as he thought proper, provided it did not exceed eighty thousand sesterces*. He, at first, intended to celebrate his triumph in the month of January; but, hearing that the consul Æmilius, in consequence of a letter from

* 645l. 17 s. 2d.

the tribune Abutius, acquainting him with his declining to protest, was coming in person to Rome, to hinder his triumph, but had been obliged by sickness to halt on the road, he hastened the time of the celebration; lest he should have more contests about the triumph, than he had met in the war. He triumphed over the Ætolians and Cephallenia on the tenth day before the calends of January. There were carried, before his chariot, golden crowns to the amount of one hundred and twelve pounds weight; of silver, eighty-three thousand pounds; of gold, two hundred and forty-three thousand; of Attic tetradrachms, one hundred and eighteen thousand*; of the coin called Philippics, twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-two†; brazen statues, two hundred and eighty-five; marble statues, two hundred and thirty; arms, weapons, and other spoils of the enemy, in great quantities: besides these, catapultas, ballistas, and engines of every kind; and, in the procession, were led twenty-seven commanders, some Ætolian, some Cephallenian, and some belonging to king Antiochus, and left there by him. Before he rode into the city, on that day, in the Flaminian Circus, he honoured great numbers of tribunes, præfects, horsemen, centurions, both Romans and allies, with military presents; to each of the soldiers he distributed out of the booty twenty-five denariuses‡; double to a centurion, triple to a horseman.

VI. THE time of the election of consuls now approached; and as Marcus Æmilius, to whose lot that business had fallen, could not attend, Caius Flaminius came home to Rome. He elected consuls, Spurius Postumius Albinus, and Quintus Marcus Philippus. Then were elected prætors, Titus Mænius, Publius Cornelius Sulla, Caius Calpur-

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* 25,241 l. 12 s. 4 d.

† 801 l. 3 s. 3 d.

‡ 16 s. 1½ d.

nus Piso, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, Caius Aurelius Scaurus, and Lucius Quintus Crispinus. At the close of the year, after the magistrates were appointed, on the third day before the nones of March, Cneius Manlius Vulso triumphed over the Gauls inhabiting Asia. The reason of his deferring his triumph so long was, to avoid standing a trial under the Petillian law, during the prætorship of Quintus Terentius Culleo; and the being involved in the ill consequences of the trial of another man, and the sentence passed on Lucius Scipio, especially, as the judges would be more disposed to severity against him, than against the other; because Scipio had strictly maintained military discipline, whereas he, his successor, had ruined it, by tolerating licentiousness of every kind. Nor were the facts, which were reported to have happened in the province, far from people's view, the only things that disgraced his character, but the circumstances which his soldiers every day exhibited to the eyes of the public were even more scandalous: for by this army, returning from Asia, was the origin of foreign luxury imported into the city. These men, first, brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, and hangings, and other works of the loom; and, what were then deemed magnificent furniture, single-footed tables, and buffets. Then, in addition to the victuals served at entertainments, were introduced players on the harp and timbrel, and buffoons for the diversion of the guests; the victuals themselves, also, began to be prepared with greater care and cost; then the cook, whom the antients considered as the meanest of their slaves, both in estimation and use, became highly valuable, and what had been a servile office, began to be reckoned a reputable trade. Nevertheless, these instances of extravagance, as they were then deemed, were no more than the seeds of that luxury which was afterwards to spring up.

VII. CNEIUS MANLIUS, in the procession of triumph, carried two hundred golden crowns, of twelve pounds weight; two hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver; two thousand two hundred and three of gold; one hundred and twenty-seven thousand Attic tetradrachms*; two hundred and fifty thousand cistophoruses†; sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty golden Philippics‡; together with abundance of Gallic arms and spoils were carried in chariots. Fifty-two generals of the enemy were led before his chariot. He distributed to each of his soldiers forty-two denariuses§, and double to a centurion; and he gave the foot-soldiers double pay, the horsemen triple. Great numbers of all ranks, who had been honoured with military presents, followed his chariot; and the verses thrown out by the soldiers on the general, were of such a kind, as plainly indicated, that the commander of whom they were meant; had been indulgent to his troops, and courted their affections; and that the triumph was beheld with a greater degree of favour by the military, than by the citizens. But the friends of Manlius were able to acquire for him the regard of the people also; for they procured the passing of a decree of the senate, ordering, that “such part of
“the money contributed to the public funds, by the
“people, for the pay of the forces, as was not yet
“repaid, should be discharged out of the money
“which had been carried in the procession to the
“treasury.” Accordingly, the city prætors, with care and fidelity, paid twenty-five denariuses and a half|| for each thousand ases¶. About this time two military tribunes arrived, from the two Spains, with letters from Caius Atinius, and Lucius Manlius, who governed those provinces. These letters contained information, that the Cimbrians and Lu-

* 16,404 l. 3 s. 4 d.

† 4305 l. 14 s. 9 d.

‡ 1054 l.

§ 21. 6 s. 3 d.

|| 6 s. 5 d.

¶ 3 l. 4 s. 7 d.

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Itanians were in arms, and were ravaging the territories of the allies; but the senate deferred all consideration of that business, until the new magistrates should come into office. This year, during the celebration of the Roman games, exhibited by Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, a pole in the Circus, being loosely fixed in the ground, fell on the statue of Pollentia, and threw it down. The senate, moved by such an incident, as it respected religion, voted that one day should be added to the celebration of the games, that two statues should be set up instead of the one, and that a new gilded one should be made. The plebeian games were likewise repeated for one day, by the ædiles Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Marcus Furius Lufcus.

VIII. THE consuls of the following year, Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, were diverted from the care of armies, and wars, and provinces, to the punishing of an intestine conspiracy. On the prætors casting lots for their provinces, Titus Mænius obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Licinius Lucullus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Aurelius Scaurus, Sardinia; Publius Cornelius Sulla, Sicily; Lucius Quintius Crispinus, hither Spain; Caius Calpurnius Piso, farther Spain. The employment decreed to both the consuls was, the making inquiry concerning clandestine conspiracies. A Greek, of mean condition, came, first, into Etruria, not with one of those many trades which his nation, of all others the most skillful in embellishing the mind and body, has introduced among us, but a low operator in sacrifices, and a soothsayer; nor was he one of those, who, publicly professing to give instruction for hire, make use of open rites and ceremonies, to imbue men's minds with religious terrors, but a teacher of secret mysteries. These mysterious rites were, at first, imparted

imparted to a few, and afterwards communicated to great numbers, both men and women. To their religious performances were added the pleasures of wine and feasting, to allure the greater number of proselytes. When wine, lascivious discourse, the night, and the mixture of men with women, of young persons with elder ones, had extinguished every sentiment of modesty, then debaucheries of every kind began to be practised, as every person found at hand that sort of enjoyment to which he was disposed by the passion most prevalent in his nature. Nor was their wickedness confined to one species of vice, the promiscuous pollutions of free-born men and of women; but, from the same store-house of villainy, proceeded false witnesses, counterfeited seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries. From the same place were produced poisonings and secret murders; so that, in some cases, even the bodies could not be found for burial. Many of their audacious deeds were perpetrated by treachery, but most of them by force; and this force was concealed from detection by loud shouting, and the noise of drums and cymbals, so that none of the cries uttered by the persons suffering violation or murder could be heard abroad.

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IX. THE infection of this mischief, like the contagion of a pestilence, spread from Etruria to Rome; where, the size of the city affording greater room for such evils, and more means of concealment, it remained some time undiscovered; but information of it was at length brought to the consul, Postumius, in the following manner. One Publius Æbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left an orphan, and, his guardians dying afterwards, was educated under the guardianship of his mother Duronia, and his stepfather Titus Sempronius Rutilus. His mother was entirely devoted to her husband; and his stepfather, having

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managed the guardianship in such a manner that he could not give an account of the property, wished that his ward should be either made away with, or bound to compliance with his will by some strong tie. The Bacchanalian rites presented themselves to his view, as the surest way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him, that, "during his sickness, she had made a vow for him, that if he should recover, she would initiate him among the Bacchanalians: that being, through the kindness of the gods, bound by this vow, she wished now to fulfil it: that it was necessary he should preserve chastity for ten days, and, on the tenth, after he should have supped and washed himself clean, she would conduct him into the place of worship." There was a freedwoman called Hispala Fecenia, a noted courtesan, but deserving of a better lot than that of the occupation to which she had been accustomed when very young, and a slave, and by which she had maintained herself since her manumission. As they lived in the same neighbourhood, an intimacy subsisted between her and Æbutius, which was far from being injurious either to the young man's character or property; for she had conceived a passion for him, and had voluntarily sought his acquaintance; and his supplies from his friends being too scanty, he was supported by the generosity of this woman. Nay, to such a length did her affection carry her, that on the death of her patron, being without a protector, she petitioned the tribunes and prætor for a guardian, and, making her will, constituted Æbutius her sole heir.

X. As such pledges of mutual love subsisted, and neither kept any thing secret from the other, the young man, jokingly, bid her not be surprised if he separated himself from her for a few nights; as, "on account of a religious duty, to discharge a vow made for his health, he intended to be initiated"

“ initiated among the Bacchanalians.” On hearing this, the woman, greatly alarmed, cried out, “ May the gods forbid !” and affirmed, that “ it would be better, both for him and her, to lose their lives, than that he should do such a thing ;” and then imprecated curses, vengeance, and destruction, on the head of those that advised him to such a step. The young man, surprised both at her expressions, and at the violence of her alarm, bid her refrain from curses, for “ it was his mother who ordered him to do so, with the approbation of his step-father.” “ Then,” said she, “ your stepfather (for perhaps it is not allowable to charge your mother) is in haste to destroy, by that act, your chastity, your character, your hopes, and your life.” This increasing his surprise, he begged of her to explain herself. On which, after imploring the favour and pardon of the gods and goddesses, if, compelled by her affection for him, she disclosed what ought not to be revealed, she told him, that “ when in service, she had gone into that place of worship as an attendant on her mistress ; but that, since she had obtained her liberty, she had never once gone near it : that she knew it to be the receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries ; that it was well known, that, for two years past, no one older than twenty had been initiated there. When any person was introduced, he was delivered as a victim to the priests, who led him away to a place resounding with shouts, the sound of music, and the beating of cymbals and drums, lest his cries, while suffering forcible violation, should be heard abroad.” She then intreated and besought him to put an end to that matter in some way or other ; and not to plunge himself into a situation, where he must first suffer, and afterwards commit, every thing that was abominable. Nor did she quit him until the young man gave her his promise to keep himself clear of those rites.

XI. WHEN he came home, on his mother's introducing mention of those ceremonies, relative to the initiation, which were to be performed on that day, and on the several following days, he told her, that he would not perform any of them, nor did he intend to be initiated. His stepfather was present at this discourse. Immediately, the woman, with great heat, replied, that "he could not debar himself of the company of Hispala for ten nights: " that he was so fascinated by the caresses and the " poisons of that serpent, as to retain no respect for " his stepfather, his mother, or the gods themselves;" and then, his mother on one side, and his stepfather on the other, loading him with reproaches, drove him out of the house, with the assistance of four slaves. The youth went thence to his aunt Æbutia, told her the reason of his being turned out by his mother, and next day, by her advice, gave information of the affair to the consul Postunius, in private. The consul dismissed him, with an order, to come to him again on the third day after. In the mean time, he inquired of his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, a woman of respectable character, " whether she knew an old matron called Æbutia, who " lived on the Aventine hill?" She said, " she " knew her well, and that she was a woman of virtue, one whose character was marked with the " modesty and simplicity of ancient times." He then requested of her to send her a message to come to her, for he had a particular reason for desiring some conversation with her. Æbutia, on receiving the message, came to Sulpicia's house, and the consul, soon after, coming in, as if by accident, introduced a conversation about Æbutius, her brother's son. On this she burst into tears, and lamented the unhappy lot of the youth; " who, after being robbed " of his property, by those persons whom it least " became to do so, was, at that time, obliged to " take up his residence with her, being turned out " of

of doors by his mother, for no other reason, but
 "because the virtuous youth, whom the gods pro-
 "tect, refused to be initiated in certain mysteries of
 "lewdness, as they were said to be."

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XII. THE consul thought he had now received sufficient information about Æbutius to exclude any suspicion of his testimony; taking leave, therefore, of Æbutia, he requested his mother-in-law to send again to the Aventine, for Hispala, a freedwoman, not unknown in that neighbourhood, to come to her; for he wanted to ask some questions of her also. When Hispala received her message, she was not a little alarmed at being sent for by a woman of such high rank and respectable character, and could not conjecture the cause; but, afterwards, when she saw the lictors in the porch, the multitude of the consul's attendants, and the consul himself, she was very near fainting. The consul led her into a retired part of the house, and, in the presence of his mother-in-law, told her, that "she need not be
 "uneasy, if she could resolve to speak the truth;
 "and of this, either Sulpicia, a matron whose character she must know, or himself, would give her
 "full assurance." He then desired her to give him an account of all that was done by the Bacchanalians, in their nocturnal orgies, in the grove of Simila. The woman, on hearing this, was seized with such terror, and trembling of all her limbs, that, for a long time, she was unable to speak; but recovering, at length, she said, that, "when she was very young,
 "and a slave, she had been initiated, together with
 "her mistress; but for several years past, since she
 "had obtained her liberty, she knew nothing of
 "what was done there." The consul commended her, so far, as not having denied that she was initiated, but charged her to explain all the rest with the same sincerity; and, on her persisting to affirm, that she knew nothing farther, he told her, that "she
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“ must not expect to meet the same tenderness, or
 “ pardon, if she should be convicted by another
 “ person, and one who had made a voluntary con-
 “ fession; that there was such a person, who had
 “ heard the whole from her, and had given him a
 “ full account of it.” The woman, now convinced
 that it must certainly be Æbutius who had disco-
 vered the secret, threw herself at Sulpicia’s feet, and,
 at first, began to beseech her, “ not to let the pri-
 “ vate conversation of a freedwoman with her lover
 “ be turned into a business not only serious, but even
 “ capital;” and declared, that “ she had told him
 “ such things merely to frighten him, and not be-
 “ cause she knew any thing of the kind.” On this
 Postumius, growing angry, said, “ she seemed to
 “ imagine that she was wrangling with her gallant
 “ Æbutius, and not that she was speaking in the
 “ house of a most respectable matron, and to a con-
 “ sul.” Sulpicia endeavoured to dispel her terrors,
 and, while she encouraged her to speak out, at the
 same time pacified her son-in-law’s anger. At length
 she took courage, and, after severe reproaches on the
 perfidy of Æbutius, in making such a return for the
 extraordinary kindness shewn to him in that very
 instance, she declared, that “ she stood in great dread
 “ of the gods, whose secret mysteries she was to di-
 “ vulge; and in much greater of men, who would
 “ certainly put her to death as an informer. There-
 “ fore, she entreated this favour of Sulpicia, and,
 “ likewise, of the consul, that they would send her
 “ away to some place out of Italy, where she might
 “ spend the remainder of her life in safety.” The
 consul desired her to fear nothing; and he assured
 her, it should be his care that she might live with
 safety in Rome.

XIII. HISPALA then gave a full account of the
 origin of the mysteries. “ At first,” she said, “ the
 “ rites were performed by women. No man used
 “ to

" to be admitted. They had three stated days in
 " the year, on which persons were initiated among
 " the Bacchanalians, in the day time. The matrons
 " used to be appointed priestesses, successively in
 " their turn. Pacolla Minia, a Campanian, when
 " priestess, made an alteration in every particular,
 " under pretence of having been so directed by the
 " gods. For she, first, initiated men, who were her
 " own sons, Minucius and Herennius, both surnamed
 " Cerrinius; changed the time of celebration, from
 " day to night; and, instead of three days in the
 " year, appointed five days of initiation, in each
 " month. Since the time when the rites were thus
 " made common, and men were intermixed with
 " women, the night encouraging licentious freedom,
 " there was nothing wicked, nothing flagitious, that
 " had not been practised among them. There were
 " more frequent pollutions of men, with each other,
 " than with women. If any shewed an uncommon
 " degree of reluctance, in submitting to dishonour,
 " or of disinclination to the commission of vice, they
 " were slain as victims, and sacrificed. To think
 " nothing unlawful, was the grand maxim of their
 " religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered
 " predictions, with frantic contortions of their bo-
 " dies; the women, in the habit of Bacchanals, with
 " their hair dishevelled, and carrying blazing torches,
 " ran down to the Tiber, and, after dipping their
 " torches in the water, drew them up again with the
 " flame unextinguished, because they were com-
 " posed of native sulphur and charcoal. They said,
 " that men were carried off by the gods, when, after
 " being tied to a machine, they were dragged out
 " of sight into secret caves. These were such as
 " refused to take the oath of the society, or to asso-
 " ciate in their crimes, or to submit to defilement.
 " Their number was exceedingly great, enough al-
 " most to compose a state in themselves, and among
 " them were many men and women of noble fami-
 " lies.

BOOK XXXIX. "lies. During the two last years, it had been a rule, that no person above the age of twenty should be initiated; for they sought for people of such age as made them more liable to deception, and to personal abuse." When she had finished this recital, she again fell at the consul's knees, and repeated the same entreaties, that she might be sent out of the country. The consul requested his mother-in-law to clear some part of the house, into which Hispala might remove her residence; accordingly, an apartment was assigned her in the upper part of the house, of which the stairs, opening into the street, were stopped up, and the entrance made from the inner court. Thither all Fecenia's effects were, immediately, removed, and her domesticks sent for. Æbutius, also, was ordered to remove to the house of one of the consul's dependants.

XIV. HAVING thus secured both the informers in his power, Postumius represented the affair to the senate. When he laid before them the whole, in order, the information offered to him at first, and the discoveries gained by his inquiries afterwards, the senators were struck with great consternation; not only on the public account, lest such conspiracies, and nightly meetings, might be productive of some secret treachery and danger, but, likewise, on account of their own particular families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. They voted, however, that thanks should be given to the consul, for having investigated the matter, with singular diligence, and without exciting any alarm. They then passed an order, out of the common course, that the consuls should hold an inquiry extraordinary, concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies; should take care that the informers, Æbutius and Fecenia, might suffer no injury on that account; and that they should invite other informers by offering rewards. They ordered, that

that search should be made, not only in Rome, but in all the market towns and villages, for the priests who officiated in those rites, whether men or women, that the consuls might have them in their power; and also, that proclamation should be made, in the city of Rome, and published through all Italy, that "no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites, or to perform any such kind of worship;" and, above all, that search should be made for those who had assembled, or conspired, for the purpose of lewd debauchery, or other flagitious practices. These were the decrees of the senate. The consuls ordered the curule ædiles, to make strict inquiry after all the priests of those mysteries, and, such as they could apprehend, to keep in the custody of some persons whom they could trust, until their trial; and they charged the plebeian ædiles to take care, that no religious rites should be performed in private. The capital triumvirs were ordered to post watches in proper places of the city, and to use vigilance to prevent any meetings by night; and, in order to guard against fires, five assistants were joined to the triumvirs, so that each might have the charge of the buildings in his own separate district, on both sides the Tiber.

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XV. AFTER dispatching the magistrates to these several employments, the consuls mounted the rostrum; and, having summoned an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, when he had finished the solemn form of prayer usually pronounced by the magistrates, before they address the people, proceeded thus: "Romans, in no other assembly that ever met, was this solemn supplication to the gods, I do not say, more proper, but even more necessary; as it serves to remind you, that these are the gods, whom the wisdom of your forefathers pointed out as the objects of your worship, veneration, and
"prayers;

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“ prayers; and not those, which, after insinuating
 “ men’s minds with corrupt and foreign modes of
 “ religion, drive them, as if goaded by the furies,
 “ to the indulgence of every lust, and the com-
 “ mission of every vice. I am not sure, what I
 “ ought to conceal, or how far I ought to speak out;
 “ for I fear, lest, if I leave you ignorant of any par-
 “ ticular, I should give room for carelessness, and, if
 “ I disclose the whole, I should alarm your fears too
 “ much. Whatever I shall say, be assured, that it
 “ is less than the magnitude and atrociousness of the
 “ affair would justify; that it may be sufficient to
 “ set us properly on our guard, we shall use our
 “ endeavours. That the Bacchanalian rites have
 “ subsisted, for some time past, in every country in
 “ Italy, and are, at present, performed in many parts
 “ of this city also, I am sure you must have been
 “ informed, not only by report, but by the nightly
 “ noises, and horrid yells, that resound all over the
 “ city; but, still, you are ignorant of the nature of
 “ that business. Part of you think it is some kind
 “ of worship of the gods; others, some allowable
 “ sport and amusement, and that, whatever it may
 “ be, it concerns but a few. As to what regards
 “ the number concerned, if I tell you that they are
 “ many thousands, you must necessarily be terrified,
 “ at once, to excess, unless I farther acquaint you
 “ who and what sort of persons they are. First
 “ then, a great part of them are women, and this
 “ was the source of the evil; then, the rest are males,
 “ but nearly resembling women; actors and pa-
 “ thicks, in the vilest lewdness; frantic night revel-
 “ lers, hurried on, by wine, noise of instruments, and
 “ clamours in the night, to a degree of mad enthu-
 “ siasm. The conspiracy, as yet, has no strength;
 “ but it has abundant means of acquiring strength,
 “ for its numbers increase daily. Your ancestors
 “ would not allow that even you should assemble,
 “ without some good reason, either when the stand-
 “ and

" and was erected on the Janiculum, and the army
 " led on the occasion of the assembly of election;
 " or when the tribunes proclaimed a meeting of the
 " commons, or some of the magistrates summoned
 " you to an assembly. And they judged it necessary,
 " that, wherever a multitude was, there should be a
 " lawful governor of that multitude present. Of
 " what kind, do you suppose, are the meetings of
 " these people? In the first place, being held in
 " the night, and, in the next, being composed pro-
 " miscuously of men and women? If you knew at
 " what ages the males are initiated, not only your
 " compassionate feelings, but your modesty, would
 " be shocked. Romans, can you think youths in-
 " initiated, under such oaths as theirs, are fit to be
 " made soldiers? That wretches, brought out of
 " that temple of obscenity, should be trusted with
 " arms? Shall these, contaminated with their own
 " foul debaucheries, and those of others, be the
 " champions for the chastity of your wives and chil-
 " dren?

XVI. " But the mischief were less, if they were
 " only effeminated by their flagitious practices; of
 " that the disgrace would chiefly affect themselves;
 " if they refrained their hands from outrage, and their
 " thoughts from fraud. But never was there in the
 " state an evil of so great magnitude, or one that
 " extended to so many persons, and comprehended
 " so many acts of wickedness. Whatever deeds of
 " villany have, of late, been committed, through
 " lust; whatever, through fraud; whatever, through
 " violence; they have, all, be assured, proceeded
 " from that association alone. They have not yet
 " perpetrated all the crimes for which they associ-
 " ated. Their impious conspiracy, at present, con-
 " fines itself to outrages on private citizens; because
 " it has not yet acquired strength sufficient to crush
 " the commonwealth: but the evil increases and
 " spreads

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“ spreads daily ; it is already too great to find em-
 “ ployment among the private ranks of life, and
 “ aims its views at the body of the state. Unless
 “ you take timely precautions, Romans, their nightly
 “ assembly may become as large as this, held in
 “ open day, and legally summoned by a consul. At
 “ this present moment, they dread the collected
 “ body of you, met in assembly ; but, in a short time
 “ hence, when you shall have separated, and retired
 “ to your several dwellings, and your country houses,
 “ they will come together. They will hold a con-
 “ sultation on the means of their own safety, and, at
 “ the same time, of your destruction. Then, their
 “ collected body will give cause of terror to every
 “ one of you. Every one of you, therefore, ought
 “ to pray, that all his own relations may have be-
 “ haved with wisdom and prudence ; and if lust, if
 “ madness, has dragged any of them into that abyss,
 “ you ought to consider such a person as the relation
 “ of those with whom he conspired for the perpe-
 “ tration of every vice and wickedness, and not as
 “ one of your own. Nor am I quite free from
 “ anxiety, lest some, even of yourselves, may have
 “ erred through mistake : for nothing is more apt
 “ to deceive, by specious appearances, than false re-
 “ ligion. When the authority of the gods is held
 “ out, as a pretext, to cover vice, we become fear-
 “ ful, lest, in punishing the wickedness of men, we
 “ may violate some divine right connected there-
 “ with. But, from any scruple of that sort, you are
 “ entirely freed, by numberless decisions of the pon-
 “ tiffs, decrees of the senate, and answers of the Aru-
 “ pices. How often, in the ages of our fathers and
 “ grandfathers, was it given in charge to the magi-
 “ strates, to prohibit the performance of any foreign
 “ religious rites ; to banish strolling sacrificers and
 “ soothsayers from the Forum, the circus, and the
 “ city ; to search for, and burn, books of divination ;
 “ and to abolish every mode of sacrificing that was

“ not

“ not conformable to the Roman practice? For
 “ they, who had a thorough knowledge of every
 “ divine and human law, knew well, that nothing
 “ tended so strongly to the subversion of religion, as
 “ performing sacrifice, not according to the rites of
 “ their own country, but according to those of a fo-
 “ reign nation. Thus much I thought necessary to
 “ mention to you beforehand, that no vain scruple
 “ might disturb your minds when you should see us
 “ demolishing the places, resorted to by the Bac-
 “ chanalians, and dispersing their impious assemblies,
 “ In doing this, we shall be favoured and approved
 “ by the gods; who, being incensed at the profana-
 “ tions offered to their majesty, by those people’s
 “ lusts and crimes, have drawn forth their proceed-
 “ ings from hidden darkness, into the open light;
 “ and who have directed them to be exposed, not
 “ that they may escape with impunity, but in order
 “ that they may be punished and suppressed. The
 “ senate have commissioned me and my colleague,
 “ to hold an inquisition extraordinary, concerning
 “ that affair. What is requisite to be done by our-
 “ selves, in person, we will execute with vigour.
 “ The charge of posting watches through the city,
 “ during the night, we have committed to the in-
 “ ferior magistrates; and, for your parts, it is in-
 “ cumbent on you, according to the several duties
 “ assigned you, and in the several places where you will
 “ be placed, to execute vigorously whatever orders
 “ you shall receive; and to use your best endea-
 “ vours, that no danger or tumult may arise, from
 “ the treachery of the party involved in the guilt.”

XVII. THEY then ordered the decrees of the se-
 nate to be read, and published a reward for any dis-
 coverer, who should bring any of the guilty before
 them, or give information against any of the absent,
 adding, that “ if any person accused should fly, they
 “ would limit a certain day, upon which, if he did

BOOK " not obey their summons, and appear to answer,
 XXXIX. " they would condemn him, without waiting for his
 Y. R. 566. " return; and if any one should be charged, who was
 B. C. 186. " then abroad, out of the land of Italy, they would
 " allow him a longer time, if he chose to come and
 " make his defence." They then published an
 edict, that " no person whatever should presume to
 " buy or sell any thing, for the purpose of flight, or
 " to receive or conceal any such; nor, by any means,
 " aid or abet any persons flying." On the assem-
 bly being dismissed, great terror spread through the
 whole city; nor was it confined, merely, within the
 walls of the city, or to the Roman territory, but
 people in every quarter throughout all Italy, on be-
 ing informed, by letters from their friends, of the
 decree of the senate, and what passed in the assem-
 bly, and the edict of the consuls, began to be much
 alarmed. During the night, which succeeded the
 day of the assembly, in which the affair was made
 public, great numbers, attempting to fly, were seized,
 and brought back, by the triumvirs, who had posted
 guards at all the gates; and informations were lodged
 against many, some of whom, both men and women,
 put themselves to death. It was said, that above
 seven thousand men and women had been sworn into
 the association; but it appeared, that the heads of
 the conspiracy were two Catinii, Marcus and Lucius,
 citizens of Rome; Lucius Opirurnius, a Faliscian;
 and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian: that from
 these proceeded all their criminal and flagitious prac-
 tices, and that these were the chief priests and foun-
 ders of the sect. Care was taken that they should
 be apprehended, as soon as possible. They were
 brought before the consuls, and, confessing their
 guilt, saved them the trouble of any long trial of
 their cause.

XVIII. But so great were the numbers that fled
 out of the city, that many people suffered severely
 thereby,

thereby, in their lawsuits and their substance; inasmuch that the prætors, Titus Mænius and Marcus Licinius were obliged, under the direction of the senate, to adjourn their courts for thirty days, until the inquiries should be finished by the consuls. The same desertion of the city, as the persons, against whom charges were brought, did not appear to answer, nor could be found in Rome, made it necessary for the consuls to take a circuit round the country towns, and there to make their inquiries, and hold the trials. When it appeared that any had been only initiated, repeating after the priest, in the most solemn form, those imprecations, in which was contained the abominable conspiracy for the commission of every deed of wickedness and lust, but had not, themselves, committed, or compelled others to commit, any of those acts, to which they were bound by the oath, all such they left in prison. But those who had forcibly committed personal defilements, or murders, or were stained with the guilt of false evidence, counterfeit seals, forged wills, or other like frauds, all these they punished with death. There were more put to death than thrown into prison, and the multitude of men and women punished, in both ways, was very great. The consuls delivered the women, who were condemned, to their relations, or to those in whose direction they were, that they might inflict the punishment in private; but if there did not appear any proper person of the kind, to execute the sentence, they were punished in public. The consuls, then, received a charge to demolish all the places where the Bacchanalians had held their meetings; first, in Rome, and then throughout all Italy; excepting those, wherein should be found some ancient altar, or consecrated statue. With regard to the future, the senate passed a decree, "prohibiting the performance of any Bacchanalian rites in Rome, or in Italy:" and ordering that, "in case any person should believe some such kind of worship in-

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BOOK XXXIX. " incumbent on him, and necessary, and that he could
 Y. R. 566. " not, without offence to religion, and incurring
 B. C. 186. " guilt, omit it, he should represent this to the city
 prætor, and the prætor should lay the business be-
 fore the senate; and if permission were granted by
 the senate, when not less than one hundred mem-
 bers were present, then those rites might be per-
 formed, provided that no more than five persons
 should be present, at the sacrifice, and that they
 should have no common stock of money, nor any
 president of the ceremonies, nor priest."

XIX. ANOTHER decree, connected with this, was then made, on a motion of the consul, Quintus Marcius, that " the business respecting the persons who
 " had served the consuls as informers should be pro-
 posed, entire, to the senate, when Spurius Postu-
 mus should have finished his inquiries, and re-
 turned to Rome." They voted, that Minius Cerrinius, the Campanian, should be sent to Ardea, to be kept in custody there; and that a caution should be given to the magistrates of that city, to guard him with more than ordinary care, so as to prevent not only his escaping, but his laying violent hands on himself. Spurius Postumius soon came to Rome, and, on his proposing the question, concerning the reward to be given to Publius Æbutius and Hispala Fecenia, for their services in discovering the proceedings of the Bacchanalians, the senate passed a vote, that " the city quæstors should give to each of
 " them, out of the public treasury, one hundred
 " thousand ascs*; and that the consuls should desire
 " the plebeian tribunes to propose to the commons,
 " as soon as convenient, that Publius Æbutius should
 " be deemed to have served out his time in the ar-
 my, that he should not be obliged to serve against
 " his will, nor should any censor assign him a

* 322 l. 18 s. 4 d.

"horse" at the public charge." They voted also, BOOK XXXIX.
 that "Hispala Fecenia should enjoy the privileges of Y. R. 566.
 "alienating her property by gift, or deed; of mar- B. C. 186.
 "rying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian,
 "as if a husband had conferred them by will; that she
 "should be at liberty to marry a man of honourable
 "birth, and that such person, marrying her, should
 "not thereby incur any disgrace or disparagement;
 "and that the consuls, then in office, and their suc-
 "cessors, should take care that no injury should be
 "offered to that woman, but that she might live in
 "safety. That it was the opinion, and desire, of
 "the senate, that all these things should be so or-
 "dered."—All these particulars were proposed to
 the commons, and were executed, according to the
 vote of the senate; and the consuls were authorised
 to determine respecting the impunity, and rewards
 of the other informers.

XX. QUINTUS MARCIUS, having completed the inquiries in his district, prepared, at length, to proceed into the province of Liguria, for the service of which he received a supply of three thousand Roman foot and one hundred and fifty horse, with five thousand Latine foot, and two hundred horse. The same province, and the same numbers of horse and foot, had been voted to his colleague, and they received the armies, which, during the preceding year, the consuls, Caius Flaminius and Marcus Æmilius, had commanded. They were, also, ordered by a decree of the senate, to raise two new legions, and they demanded from the allies and Latines twenty thousand foot, and one thousand three hundred horse; besides all which, they levied three thousand Roman foot,

* Those to whom the censor assigned a horse, were bound to serve. But as liberty was granted to Æbutius, to serve or not, as he chose, it became necessary that the censor should be thus restrained by a vote of the senate, from assigning him a horse; otherwise, if one had been assigned him, whether willing or not, he must have served.

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and two hundred horse, all which troops, except the legions, were ordered to march into Spain, to reinforce the army employed there. The consuls, therefore, while they themselves were kept busy, in holding the inquisitions, had delegated to Titus Mænius the charge of enlisting the troops. When the trials were finished, Quintus Marcius, first, marched against the Apuan Ligurians. While he pursued these into very remote fastnesses, which had always served them as lurking places and receptacles, he was surrounded in a dangerous defile, inclosed by eminences, which were occupied by the enemy. Here four thousand soldiers were lost, and three standards of the second legion, with eleven ensigns of the Latine allies, fell into the hands of the enemy; abundance of arms were scattered about every where, being thrown away by the men, because they impeded their flight through the woody paths. The Ligurians ceased to pursue, sooner than the Romans to fly. As soon as the consul had effected his escape out of the enemy's territories, he disbanded the troops, in the country of their friends, in order to conceal the greatness of the loss sustained. But he could not obliterate all memorial of his misconduct; for the pass, where the Ligurians put him to flight, has gotten the name of the Marcian pass.

XXI. BEFORE the public received an account of this affair, from Liguria, a letter from Spain was read to them, which produced a mixture of joy and grief. Caius Atinius, who, two years before, had gone to that province, in quality of prætor, fought, in the territory of Asta, a pitched battle with the Lusitanians, in which six thousand of the enemy were killed, the rest routed, driven from the field, and their camp was taken. He then marched, at the head of the legions, to attack the town of Asta, which he took, with little more trouble than he met at the camp; but, approaching the wall too carelessly, he

received

received a wound, of which he died a few days after. On reading a letter, acquainting them with the prætor's death, the senate voted, that a courier should be sent to overtake the prætor, Caius Calpurnius, at the port of Luna, and inform him, that it was the will of the senate, that he should hasten his journey, lest the province should be without a governor. The person sent reached Luna, on the fourth day, but Calpurnius had set out some days before. In hither Spain, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who had come into that province at the same time when Caius Atinius came into his, fought a battle with the Celtiberians, in which neither party could claim the victory, farther than this, that the Celtiberians retreated, during the following night, and left the Romans at liberty to bury their dead, and collect the spoils of the enemy. In a few days after, the Celtiberians, with a more numerous force, attacked the Romans, near the town of Calaguris. Writers have not mentioned the cause that rendered them weaker after their numbers were increased, but they were defeated in the battle; twelve thousand of their men were killed, more than two thousand taken, their camp fell into the hands of the Romans; and if the conqueror's career had not been stopped, by the arrival of his successor, he would have reduced Celtiberia to entire subjection. Both the new prætors drew off their armies into winter quarters.

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XXII. ABOUT the time when the news of these transactions in Spain arrived at Rome, the games called Taurilia * were celebrated, during two days, on a religious account. Then Marcus Fulvius exhibited games, which he had vowed in the Ætolian war, and which lasted ten days. Many artists, from

* Games in honour of the infernal deities, instituted in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, on occasion of a malignant disorder that had attacked pregnant women. Black bulls were sacrificed, whence the name.

respect to him, came from Greece on the occasion; and now, for the first time, the Romans were entertained with contests of wrestlers; they were also presented with a hunt of lions and panthers; and the shews were exhibited in a manner, that fell but little short of the abundance and variety of the present age. The nine days solemnity was then performed, showers of stones having fallen, for three days, in Picenum; and fires from heaven, breaking out in various places, had, as was said, burned with a slight blast the cloaths of many persons. To this was added, by order of the pontiffs, a supplication, of one day's continuance, on account of the temple of Ops, in the Capitol, being struck by lightning. The consul sacrificed victims, of the larger kinds, and purified the city. At the same time, an account was brought from Umbria, of an hermaphrodite, twelve years old, being found there. This was deemed a prodigy of direful import, and orders were given, that it should be removed instantly out of the Roman territories, and put to death. During this year, a body of transalpine Gauls came over into Venetia, without committing depredation or hostility, and pitched on a spot, for building a town, not far from that where Aquileia now stands. Ambassadors were sent from Rome, over the Alps, on this business, who were told, that "the state had given those people
"no authority to quit their country, nor did their
"countrymen know what they were doing in Italy." About this time Lucius Scipio celebrated games, which, he said, he had vowed during the war with Antiochus; they lasted ten days, and the expence was defrayed by a contribution made to him, for the purpose, by the kings and states of Asia. Valerius Antias attests, that, after his condemnation, and the sale of his effects, he was sent ambassador into Asia, to adjust disputes between the kings Antiochus and Eumenes; that he then received the contributions of money, and collected artists through Asia; and, although

although he had made no mention of those games, on the conclusion of the war, in which he said they had been vowed, yet, on his return from this embassy, he, at length, introduced the subject in the senate.

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Y. R. 566.

B. C. 286.

XXIII. As the year was, now, drawing to a conclusion, Quintus Marcius, who was abroad, was soon to go out of office. Spurius Postumius, after having conducted the inquisitions, with the utmost care and propriety, held the elections. Appius Claudius Pulcher and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus were chosen consuls. Next day were elected prætors, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Afranius Stellio, Caius Atilius Serranus, Lucius Postumius Tempstanus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Towards the close of the year, the consul, Spurius Postumius, reported, that as he travelled along both the coasts of Italy, for the purpose of holding the inquisitions, he found two colonies deserted, Sipontum, on the upper sea, and Buxentum on the lower; on which, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Titus Mænius, city prætor, constituted Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Tuccius, and Cneius Bæblius Tamphilus, commissioners for conducting colonists thither. The war, at this time apprehended, with king Perseus and the Macedonians, owed not its origin either to Perseus himself, nor to the causes to which it has been generally attributed. The original idea of it was conceived by Philip, and, if he had lived some time longer, he would himself have entered on the prosecution of it. In the conditions imposed on him, when he was vanquished, there was one particular that chagrined him more than all the rest: this was, his being deprived, by the senate, of the liberty of wreaking his vengeance on such of the Macedonians as had revolted from him, in the course of the war; although, from Quintus having left that point undetermined, when he was adjusting the arti-

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B. C. 285.

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cles of pacification, he had entertained some hopes of being indulged in it. Afterwards, when, on the defeat of Antiochus, at Thermopylae, the armies separated, and the consul Acilius carried on the siege of Heraclea, while Philip besieged Lamia, as soon as Heraclea was taken, Philip was ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia, and the town was surrendered to the Romans; this also gave him great offence. The consul, indeed, in some measure, soothed his resentment; for, when he was hastening to Naupactum, where the Ætolians had resembled, after their flight, he gave Philip permission to make war on Amyntander and Athamania; and to annex to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thessalians. Without much difficulty, he expelled Amyntander from Athamania, and got possession of several cities. He also reduced under his dominion, the city of Demetrias, a place of great strength, and convenient in every respect, and the whole state of the Magnesians. Afterwards, finding that several cities in Thrace, through an abuse of the liberty, which they had lately acquired, and to which they had not been accustomed, were distracted by dissensions among their leading men, by uniting himself to the parties that were worsted in their disputes with their countrymen, he made himself master of them all.

XXIV. By these means the king's resentment against the Romans was calmed for the present: but he never abandoned the project of collecting such strength, during peace, as would enable him to maintain a war, whenever fortune should offer an occasion. He augmented the revenues of his kingdom, not only out of the produce of the lands, and the port duties, but, also, by setting men to work again in old mines, which had been neglected, and opening new ones in many places. Then, in order to restore in the country its former degree of population,

tion, which had been diminished by the calamities of war, besides providing for the procreation of offspring, by compelling every one to marry and educate children, he transplanted a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonia, and, during a long time, while he remained at rest from wars, he employed the utmost assiduity in augmenting, by every possible means, the strength of his kingdom. Causes afterwards occurred, which served to revive his resentment against the Romans. Complaints, made by the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, of his holding possession of their cities, and, by ambassadors from king Eumenes, of his having forcibly seized the cities in Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of their people into Macedonia, had been listened to, in such a manner, as plainly evinced that they were not thought unworthy of attention. What made the greatest impression on the senate, was, their having been informed, that he aimed at the possession of Ænus and Maronea; as to the Thessalians, they regarded them less. Ambassadors came, likewise, from the Athamans, complaining, not that their frontiers were encroached on, or part of their territory taken, but that all Athamania had been brought under the dominion and jurisdiction of the king. Exiles from Maronea also appeared, who had been expelled by the king's troops, for having supported the cause of liberty; and they reported, that not only Maronea, but Ænus too, was held in subjection by Philip. Ambassadors came from Philip to defend his conduct, and they asserted, that, in all these cases, nothing had been done without permission from the Roman commanders. That "the states of the Thessalians, "Perrhæbians, and Magnesians, and the nation of "the Athamans, with Amynder, had all been "engaged in the same cause with the Ætolians. "That after the expulsion of king Antiochus, the "consul, being himself busy in reducing the towns of "Ætolia, had sent Philip to subdue those states, and
" they

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“ they remained subject to him in consequence of
“ their being conquered by his arms.” The senate
unwilling to come to any decision, in the king’s ab-
sence, sent Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Marcus Bæbi-
us Tampilus, and Tiberius Sempronius, ambassa-
dors to adjust those disputes, and, previous to their
arrival, a convention of all those states, who had dis-
putes with the king, was summoned to meet at
Tempe in Thessaly.

XXV. THERE, when all were seated, the Roman
ambassadors, in the character of arbitrators, the Thes-
salians, Perrhæbians, and Athamanians, professedly as
accusers, and Philip as defendant, to hear the charges
against him, the heads of the embassies, according to
their several tempers, their favour, or their hatred
towards Philip, spoke, some with acrimony, others
with mildness. There was a dispute concerning
Philippopolis, Trica, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and the
other towns in their neighbourhood. The point in
controversy was, whether these towns were the pro-
perty of the Thessalians, and had been forcibly taken
from them, and held by the Ætolians, for from the
Ætolians it was acknowledged that Philip had taken
them; or whether they were originally the property
of the Ætolians: Acilius having granted them to
the king, on the condition that “ they had been the
“ property of the Ætolians; and that their siding
“ with the Ætolians had been voluntary, and not the
“ effect of compulsion and force.” The dispute,
concerning the towns of the Perrhæbians and Mag-
nesians, turned on the same points; for the Ætolians,
by holding possession of them occasionally, had in-
troduced confusion with respect to the real proprie-
tors of them all. To these particulars, which were
matter of discussion, the Thessalians added com-
plaints, that, “ if these towns were now restored to
“ them, they would come into their hands in a state
“ of desolation, and depopulated; for besides the
“ loss

" loss of inhabitants, through the casualties of war; BOOK
 " Philip had carried away five hundred of their XXXIX.
 " young men of the first rank into Macedonia, V. R. 567.
 " where he employed them in servile offices, unbecom- B. C. 135.
 " coming their birth; and had taken pains to ren-
 " der useless whatever he should be compelled to re-
 " store to the Thessalians. That Thebes in Phthio-
 " tis was the only sea port they had, which, formerly,
 " produced much profit and advantage to the inha-
 " bitants of Thessaly; but, that Philip, having col-
 " lected there a number of ships of burthen, made
 " them steer their course past Thebes to Demetrias;
 " by which means, he turned away thither the whole
 " commerce by sea. That he did not now scruple to
 " offer violence, even to ambassadors, who, by the
 " law of nations, are every where held inviolable, but
 " had laid an ambush for theirs who were going to
 " Titus Quintius. In consequence of these pro-
 " ceedings, the Thessalians were all seized with such
 " dread, that not one of them, even in their own
 " states, or in the general assemblies of the nation,
 " ventured to open his mouth. For the Romans,
 " the defenders of their liberty, were far distant; and
 " a severe master close at their side, debarring them
 " the advantages of the kindness of the Romans. If
 " words were not free, what else could be said to be
 " so: At present, they confided, so far, in the pro-
 " tection of the ambassadors, as to utter their groans,
 " rather than words; but, unless the Romans would
 " apply some remedy to abate both the fears of the
 " Greeks bordering on Macedonia, and the arro-
 " gance of Philip, his having been conquered, and
 " their being set at liberty, would prove utterly
 " fruitless. Like a stubborn, unmanageable horse,
 " he required to be checked with a strong bridle."
 These bitter expressions were used by the last speak-
 ers among them; those who spoke before having
 endeavoured, by mildness, to mitigate his resentment;
 requesting him "to make allowances for people plead-
 ing

“ ing in defence of their liberty; to lay aside the harsh-
 “ nefs of a master, and in the course of his conduct,
 “ shew himself a friend and ally; to imitate the Ro-
 “ man people, who wished to unite their allies to
 “ them by the ties of affection, rather than of fear.”
 When the Thessalians had finished, the Perrhæbians
 pleaded that Gonnocondylos, to which Philip had
 given the name of Olympias, belonged to Perrhæ-
 bia, and ought to be restored to them; and the same
 demand was made with respect to Malcea, and Eri-
 cinium. The Athamanians claimed a restoration of
 liberty, and the forts Athenæus and Poetneus.

XXVI. PHILIP, that he might maintain the ap-
 pearance of an accuser, rather than of a defendant,
 began his discourse also with complaints. He al-
 leged, that “ the Thessalians had taken by force
 “ of arms, Menclais in Dolopia, a town belonging
 “ to his dominions; likewise, that Petra in Pieria was
 “ taken by the same Thessalians, and the Perrhæbi-
 “ ans; that they had reduced, under their govern-
 “ ment, the town of Xyniæ, which unquestionably
 “ belonged to Ætolia, and had, without any colour
 “ of justice, subjected to the jurisdiction of the Thes-
 “ salians, Parachelois, in the territory of Athamania.
 “ For, of the charges brought against him, con-
 “ cerning an ambush laid for ambassadors, and sea-
 “ ports being frequented or deserted, one was quite
 “ ridiculous, as if he were to account for what har-
 “ bours merchants or sailors should frequent, and the
 “ other, the constant tenour of his conduct refuted.
 “ Such a number of years had passed, during which,
 “ ambassadors had never ceased carrying complaints
 “ against him, sometimes to the Roman generals, at
 “ others to Rome to the senate, and what one of
 “ them had ever been injured, even in words?
 “ They said, indeed, that an ambush was once laid
 “ for some who were going to Quintius, but they did
 “ not add what consequences ensued to them.
 “ Such

" Such charges shewed that the authors sought for
 " groundless imputations, because they had none to
 " offer that were founded in truth." He said, that
 " the Thessalians, insolently and wantonly, abused
 " the indulgence of the Roman people, too greed-
 " ily drinking, as it were, strong draughts of liberty
 " after a long thirst; and thus, after the manner of
 " slaves lately set free, at once, beyond their expect-
 " tations, they made trial of the freedom of their
 " voices and tongues, and prided themselves in in-
 " vectives and railings against their masters." Then,
 hurried on by passion, he added, that "the sun of all
 " his days had not set yet;" which expression, not
 only the Thessalians, but the Romans also, took as a
 menace to themselves, and a murmur of displeasure
 followed his words. When this at length ceased, he
 proceeded to answer the ambassadors of the Perrhæ-
 bians and Athamanians. He said, "the cases of the
 " cities of which they had spoken were the same.
 " The consul Acilius and the Romans gave them
 " to him, when they were the property of enemies.
 " If the donors chose to take away their own gift, he
 " knew he must submit, but in that case they would,
 " for the gratification of inconstant and unprofitable
 " allies, do injury to a more useful and more faithful
 " friend. For no favour produced less permanent
 " gratitude than the gift of liberty, especially among
 " people who were ready to undo it by making a
 " bad use of it." After hearing all parties, the am-
 bassadors pronounced their judgment, that "the Ma-
 " cedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from the
 " cities in question, and that the kingdom of Macedo-
 " nia should be limited within its antient boundaries.
 " That, with regard to the injuries complained of
 " by the several parties, in order to decide the con-
 " troversies between those states and the Macedoni-
 " ans, it would be requisite to institute a regular ju-
 " dicial inquiry into their several rights."

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XXVII. THIS determination gave grievous offence to the king, and the ambassadors proceeded thence to Thessalonice, to give a hearing to the business concerning the cities of Thrace. Here the ambassadors of Eumenes said, that "if the Romans wished that Ænus and Maronea, should be independent, he had more regard to modesty, than to say any thing farther, except to recommend it to them to leave those people free in fact, not in words; not to suffer their kindness to be intercepted by another. But, if they had not so much concern for the cities in Thrace, it was much more reasonable, that places which had been under the dominion of Antiochus, and were become the prize of war, should be granted to Eumenes, than to Philip; and that, either an account of his father Attalus's deserts in the war, waged by the Roman people against Philip himself, or on account of his own, in sharing all the toils and dangers on land and sea, during the war with Antiochus. Besides, he had the previous judgment of the ten ambassadors to that purpose; who, when they granted the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, surely granted, at the same time, Ænus and Maronea; which, even from the proximity of situation were but a sort of appendages to the larger gift. For, as to Philip, what merits towards the Roman people, or what right of dominion could he plead for his having put garrisons into those places, which were at so great a distance from the borders of Macedonia? They then desired, that the Romans would order the Maronites to be called, from whom they would receive more positive information of the condition of those cities." The Maronite ambassadors, being called in, declared, that not in one spot of the city, as in other places, but in every quarter of it, there was a party of the king's troops, so that Maronea was full of Macedonians; in consequence of which, the party that

shewed

“ shewed themselves disposed to humour the king,
 “ domineered over the rest; they alone had liberty
 “ of speaking either in the senate, or assemblies of
 “ the people. All the posts of honour they assumed
 “ to themselves, or conferred on whom they thought
 “ proper. All the people of the best characters,
 “ who had a regard for liberty and for the laws,
 “ were either in exile, being expelled their country;
 “ or were obliged to sit down in silence, deprived
 “ of all share in the publick honours, and exposed
 “ to the insolence of a wicked party.” They ad-
 “ ded also a few words respecting their right to the
 “ frontier places, affirming, that “ Quintus Fabius
 “ Labeo, when he was in that country, had fixed as
 “ a boundary line to Philip, the old royal road lead-
 “ ing to Parorceia, in Thrace, which in no place
 “ turns down to the sea; and that Philip afterwards
 “ drew a new one in another course, in order to
 “ comprehend the cities and lands of the Maro-
 “ nites.”

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XXVIII. PHILIP, in his reply, took quite another course than when answering the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, and spoke to the following effect.—

“ I dispute not now with the Maronites, or with
 “ Eumenes, but with you, yourselves, Romans, from
 “ whom I, this long time, perceive that I am not to
 “ expect any justice. The cities of Macedonia,
 “ which had revolted from me during a suspension of
 “ arms, I wished to have been restored to me; not
 “ that they would have made any great accession to
 “ my dominions, because the towns are small in
 “ themselves, and, besides, are situated on the ex-
 “ tremities of the frontiers; but because the exam-
 “ ple was of consequence towards retaining the rest
 “ of the Macedonians, in their allegiance. This
 “ was refused me. In the Ætolian war, I was or-
 “ dered by the consul Mænius Acilius to lay siege to
 “ Lamia, and when I had there undergone a long

BOOK " course of fatigue in fighting and constructing
 XXXIX. " works, and was on the point of mounting the
 Y. R. 567. " walls, the consul recalled me from the city, when
 B. C. 185. " it was almost in my possession, and forced me to
 " draw off my troops from the place. As some
 " consolation for this hard treatment, I received
 " permission to seize on some forts, rather than cities,
 " of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. These
 " also, Quintus Cæcilius, you took from me, the
 " other day. The ambassadors of Eumenes, just
 " now, took for granted, it seems, that whatever
 " belonged to Antiochus would more properly be
 " given to Eumenes than to me. My judgment
 " of the matter is widely different. For, not on the
 " Romans proving victorious, but on their engaging
 " in the war, Eumenes's continuance on his throne
 " depended. The obligation, therefore, lies on his
 " side, not on yours; whereas, so far were any part
 " of my dominions from being in danger, that, when
 " Antiochus voluntarily offered to purchase my
 " alliance, with three thousand talents and fifty
 " decked ships, and by his guaranteeing to me all
 " the cities of Greece, of which I had heretofore
 " been in possession, I rejected his offer. I avowed
 " myself his enemy, even before Manius Acilius
 " brought over an army into Greece. In conjunc-
 " tion with that consul, I supported whatever share
 " of the war he gave me in charge. Then, to serve
 " the succeeding consul, Lucius Scipio, when he
 " proposed leading his army, by land, to the Hel-
 " lespont, besides giving him a passage through my
 " dominions, I also made roads for him, built
 " bridges, and supplied him with provisions, and
 " convoyed him, in this manner, not only through
 " Macedonia, but likewise through Thrace; where,
 " besides other business, I had the task of keeping
 " the barbarians quiet. In requital of this zealous,
 " not to call it meritorious, conduct towards you,
 " whether would it be proper in you, Romans, to
 " give

" give me some addition, to augment and enlarge
 " my dominions, by acts of your generosity, or to
 " ravish from me what I possessed, either in my own
 " right, or through your kindness? The cities of
 " Macedonia, which you acknowledge to have be-
 " longed to my kingdom, are not restored. Eu-
 " menes comes to plunder me as he would Antio-
 " chus, and covers his most shameless and ground-
 " less chicanery, under the decree of the ten am-
 " bassadors, the very thing that most completely
 " refutes and convicts him. For is it not most
 " expressly and most plainly set down in that writing,
 " that the Chersonese and Lyfimachia are granted
 " to Eumenes; and where is any mention added
 " therein of Ænus and Maronea, and the cities of
 " Thrace? That which he did not dare ever to ask
 " from them, shall he obtain from you, as if under
 " their grant? Much depends on the character in
 " which you choose to consider me. If you are
 " resolved to persecute me, as a foe and an enemy,
 " proceed to act as you have begun: but, if you
 " have any consideration of me, as a king in friend-
 " ship and alliance with you, I must entreat you
 " not to judge me deserving of such injurious
 " treatment."

XXIX. THE king's discourse made a considerable
 impression on the ambassadors; they therefore left
 the matter in suspense, by this indecisive resolution.
 that " if the cities in question were granted to Eu-
 " menes by the decree of the ten ambassadors, they
 " would make no alteration. If Philip subdued
 " them in war, he should, by the laws of war, hold
 " them as the prize of victory. If neither were the
 " case, then their judgement was, that the decision
 " should be referred to the senate; and, in order
 " that every particular might be open for delibera-
 " tion, the garrisons in those cities should be with-
 " drawn." These causes, among others of less

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weight, alienated the regard of Philip from the Romans, so that in all appearance the war was not set on foot by his son Perseus, for any fresh causes, but rather was, for these causes, bequeathed by the father to the son. At Rome there was hitherto no suspicion of a war with Macedonia. Lucius Manlius, proconsul, had by this time come home from Spain. He demanded a triumph from the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona, and his demand was justified by the greatness of his exploits, but contradicted by precedent; for it was a rule, established by antient practice, that no commander, who had not brought home his troops, should triumph, unless he had delivered up the province to his successor, in a state of thorough subjection and tranquillity. However the senate took a middle course, and ordered that Manlius should enter the city in ovation. He carried in the procession fifty-two golden crowns, and, besides them, one hundred and twenty-two pounds weight of gold, with sixteen thousand three hundred pounds of silver; and he gave public notice, in the senate, that his quaestor, Quintus Fabius, was bringing ten thousand pounds weight of silver, and eighty of gold, which he intended to carry likewise to the treasury. During that year there was a formidable insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. Lucius Postumius, prætor, governed the province of Tarentum, and he conducted, with much severity, inquiries into a conspiracy of peasants, who had infested the roads, and public pastures, with robberies. Of these he passed sentence on no less than seven thousand; many of whom made their escape, and many were punished. The consuls, after being long detained in the city, by the levies, set out at length for their provinces.

XXX. THIS year, Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Quintus, the two prætors in Spain, drew their troops out of winter quarters, early in spring, and making a junction of them in Bæturia, for they were resolved

to proceed in the operations of the campaign with united zeal and harmony, advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy's camp lay. At a small distance from the towns of Hippo and Toletum, a fight began between the foraging parties; and, as reinforcements came up, on both sides, from the camps, the whole armies were, by degrees, drawn out into the field. In this irregular kind of battle, the advantage of the ground and the manner of fighting were in favour of the enemy. The two Roman armies were routed, and driven into their camp; but the enemy did not pursue the advantage, which the others fears afforded them. The Roman prætors, lest their camp should be attacked, next day, gave orders, without noise, for decamping, and led away their army in the dead of the following night. At the first dawn, the Spaniards came up to the rampart, in battle array, and finding, beyond their expectation, that the camp was deserted, marched in, and made prey of whatever had been left behind, in the hurry and confusion of the night; and then, returning to their own camp, remained quiet in that post for several days. Of the Romans and allies, there were killed, in the battle and the pursuit, five thousand men, out of whose spoils the enemy furnished themselves with arms. They then advanced to the river Tagus. All the intermediate time, the Roman prætors employed in collecting aid from the allied Spanish states, and recovering the spirits of their men from the dismay occasioned by their defeat. When they judged their strength sufficient, and found themselves called on by the soldiers, to lead them against the enemy, that they might blot out their former disgrace, they pitched their camp at the distance of twelve miles from the river Tagus, and decamping thence, at the third watch, and, marching in order of battle, reached the bank of the river at the break of day. The enemy's camp was on a hill at the other side of the river. Having discovered two fords, Calpurnius,

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immediately, led his army across through that on the left, and, all this time, the enemy continued motionless, surprised at the sudden arrival of the Romans, and busy in consultations, at a time when they might have greatly distressed the troops, during their hurry and confusion in passing the river. The Romans having, in the mean time, brought over even all their baggage, and thrown it together in a heap, and seeing the enemy, at length, begin to move, as they had no time for fortifying a camp, formed their line of battle, placing, in the centre, the fifth legion, serving under Calpurnius, and the eighth under Quintius, which composed the principal strength of their army. From hence, all the way to the enemy's camp, they had an open plain, where there could be no danger of ambush.

XXXI. WHEN the Spaniards saw the two bodies of the Romans, on their side of the river, they resolved to fall upon them before they should unite and put themselves in order; rushing therefore suddenly out of the camp, they advanced to battle at full speed. The fight, in the beginning, was urged with great fury; the Spaniards being elated by their late success, and the Roman soldiery inflamed to rage, by disgrace to which they were unaccustomed. The centre, consisting of two legions of the greatest bravery, fought with the utmost vigour; and the enemy, seeing that they could not be forced from their ground, by any other means, resolved to make their attack in form of a wedge; and this body, becoming continually more numerous and more compact, pressed hard on the centre of their opponents. When the prætor, Calpurnius, perceived the distress of this part of his line, he hastily dispatched two lieutenant generals, Titus Quintilius Varus and Lucius Juventius Thalna, to animate the courage of the two legions. He ordered them to explain to them, that "all hopes of victory, and of retaining possession of Spain,

" Spain, depended entirely on them. If they should
 " give ground, not a man in that whole army would
 " ever see Italy, no nor even the farther bank of the
 " Tagus." He himself, at the head of the cavalry

of the two legions, making a small circuit, charged
 the flank of the enemy's wedge, which was pressing
 upon his centre. Quintius, likewise, with his cavalry,
 charged the enemy on the other flank; but the
 horsemen of Calpurnius fought with far greater spirit,
 and the prætor himself exceeded all others. For he
 was the first that struck down one of the enemy, and
 he pushed in among the troops, in the centre, in
 such a manner, that it was hard to distinguish to
 which side he belonged. Thus the horsemen were
 animated by the extraordinary valour of the prætor,
 and the infantry by that of the cavalry. The fore-
 most centurions, seeing the prætor in the midst of
 the enemy's weapons, were struck with shame. They
 all, therefore, earnestly pressed the standard bearers,
 urging them to carry forward the ensigns, and the
 soldiers to follow with speed. All set up the shout
 a-new, and made an attack as violent as if they were
 rushing down a hill. Like a flood, therefore, they
 broke and bore down the enemy in dismay, nor was
 it possible to withstand them, pouring in one after
 another. The enemy, flying to their camp, were
 pursued by the cavalry, who, mixing in the crowd of
 the runaways, penetrated into the camp. Here the
 fight was renewed, by the troops left to guard the
 camp, and the Roman horsemen were obliged to
 dismount. While they were engaged, the fifth legion
 came up, and the rest of the troops flocked in, as
 fast as they could. The Spaniards were cut to pieces,
 in all parts of the camp; nor did more than four
 thousand men make their escape. Of these, about
 three thousand, who kept their arms, took post on a
 mountain, at a small distance, and one thousand, who
 were in general but half armed, dispersed through
 the country. This army of the enemy had contained

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thirty-five thousand men, of whom that very small share survived the battle. One hundred and thirty-three standards were taken. Of the Romans and allies, a few more than six hundred fell; and, of the provincial auxiliaries, about one hundred and fifty. The loss of five military tribunes, and a few Roman horsemen, was the only circumstance that made the victory appear to have been dearly earned. The army lodged in the enemy's camp, as they had not had time to fortify one of their own. Next day, Calpurnius, in an assembly, commended the behaviour of the cavalry, and gave them presents of horse furniture, declaring publicly, that, through their bravery, principally, the enemy had been defeated, and their camp stormed and taken. The other prætor, Quintius, likewise made presents to his horsemen of chains and clasps. A great many centurions also, of both the armies, received presents, especially those who were in the centre.

XXXII. THE consuls, as soon as they had finished the levies, and other business necessary to be done at Rome, led the army into their province, Liguria. Sempronius, marching from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians, ravaged their lands, and burned their villages and forts, until he opened that difficult country, as far as the river Macra, and the harbour of Luna. The enemy posted themselves on a mountain, which had, from old times, served their forefathers as a retreat; but the difficulty of access, here also, was overcome, and they were dislodged by force. The good conduct and success of Appius Claudius against the Ingaunian tribe, was not inferior to that of his colleague, for he defeated them in several battles. He also stormed six of their towns, in which he made a vast number of prisoners, and he beheaded forty-three of the chief promoters of the war. The time of the elections now drew near; but Claudius came home to Rome sooner than Sempronius.

Sempronius, to whom the business of presiding at the elections had been allotted, because his brother, Publius Claudius, stood candidate for the consulship. His competitors, of patrician rank, were Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Fabius Labeo, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been candidates before, and now renewed their suit, for the honour of which they had been disappointed, and which was the more justly due to them, as it had been refused before. Besides, as it was not lawful that more than one patrician should be appointed, this made the competition between four still more obstinate. The plebeian candidates likewise were men in high esteem, Lucius Porcius, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, these too had been disappointed, but cherished hopes of attaining the honour at some future time. Of all these Claudius was the only new candidate. In the general opinion, there was no doubt but Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Porcius Licinus would be the successful candidates, but Claudius, the consul, unattended by his listeners, canvassed with his brother, through all parts of the Forum, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of his opponents, and the greater part of the senate, who insisted, that, " he ought to remember the duty of a " consul of the Roman people, in preference to that " of the brother of Publius Claudius. He ought to " sit on his tribunal, and content himself with presiding, and remain a silent spectator of the election." Yet nothing could restrain his immoderate zeal. The election was, also, several times, interrupted by contentions between the Plebeian Tribunes; some of whom struggled hard in opposition to the consul, and others in support of the cause which he favoured. At last, Appius conquered all opposition, so as to set aside Fabius, and bring in his brother. Thus was Publius Claudius Pulcher elected consul, beyond his own, and indeed the general expectation. Lucius Porcius Licinus carried his election also; for the

contest,

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contest, among the plebeian candidates, was conducted with decent zeal, and not with intemperate violence, like that of Claudius. Then was held the election of prætors, in which were chosen, Caius Decimius Flavius, Publius Sempronius Longus, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus Nævius Matho, Caius Sempronius Blæsus, and Aulus Terentius Varro. Such were the occurrences, at home and abroad, of this year, during the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

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XXXIII. In the beginning of the following year, Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius being consuls, Quintus Cæcilius, Marcus Bæbius, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been sent to adjust the matters in dispute between the kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the states of the Thessalians, came home, and gave an account of the execution of their commission. They also introduced to the senate ambassadors from those kings and states. On this occasion, the same arguments were repeated by all parties, which had been urged before the ambassadors in Greece. The senate then decreed, that another new embassy, with Appius Claudius at its head, should be sent into Macedonia and Greece, to see whether the several states had been restored to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. They were, farther, instructed to take care, that the garrisons should be withdrawn out of Ænus and Maronea, and that all the sea coast of Thrace should be made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians. They were ordered, also, to go to Peloponnesus, where the former ambassadors had, at their departure, left affairs in a more unsettled state, than they would have been, if they had not come thither. For, besides other matters, they were even sent away without an answer by the Achaean council, nor were they allowed an audience. On this subject, Quintus Cæcilius made a heavy complaint. At the

the same time, the Lacedæmonians deplored the demolition of their walls, the carrying off their poor people into Achaia, and selling them there, and the depriving them of the laws of Lycurgus, by which the state had been supported unto that time. On this the Achaians, endeavouring chiefly to apologize for having refused a meeting of the council, recited a law which enacted, that a council should not be summoned, except on business of peace or war, or when ambassadors should come from the senate, with letters or written instructions. That this kind of excuse should not be made in future, the senate observed to them, that they ought, in prosperity, to take care that Roman ambassadors should, at all times, have an opportunity of applying to their council, in like manner, as the senate always gave them audience, at any time when they wished it.

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XXXIV. AFTER those ambassadors had received their answers, Philip, being informed by his that he must yield up the states, and evacuate the towns in question, though he was highly enraged against all, yet he vented his fury on the Maronites in particular. He gave a charge to Onomastus, who had the command of the sea coast, to put to death the leaders of the opposite party. This man employed a person called Cassander, a partizan of the king's, who had resided a long time in Maronea, and he, introducing a body of Thracians, by night, put the inhabitants to the sword, as if the city had been taken by storm. When the Roman ambassadors complained, on this head, of his acting with such cruelty towards the innocent Maronites, and such presumption towards the Roman people, in killing, as enemies, those very persons to whom the senate had adjudged the restoration of liberty, he averred, that "none of those matters concerned him, or any one belonging to him; that they had quarrelled among themselves, and, fought, because some
" wished

BOOK " wished to bring their state to his side, others to
 XXXIX. " that of Eumenes. That the truth of this might
 Y. R. 568. " be readily ascertained: they had only to ask the
 B. C. 184. " Maronites themselves." For he was confident,
 that, while they were all under the impression of ter-
 ror, since the late massacre, not one of them would
 dare to utter a word against him. Appius said, that
 " this would be looking for obscurity in a case
 " already clear. But, if he wished to remove the
 " guilt from himself, let him send Onomastus and
 " Cassander, the actors in that business, to Rome,
 " that the senate might examine them." At first,
 these words so entirely disconcerted the king, that
 neither his colour, nor his looks, remained un-
 changed; then, after some time, having collected his
 thoughts, he replied, that " he would send Cassan-
 " der, who had been in Maronea, if it was their de-
 " sire: but, as to Onomastus, how could that matter
 " affect him, who, so far from being in Maronea,
 " was not even in any part of the country near it?"
 He was more careful of Onomastus, as a more va-
 lued friend, and he dreaded him much more, lest he
 might make discoveries; for he had, in person, con-
 versed with him on the subject, and he had confided
 in him as an agent in many similar transactions.
 Cassander, too, is supposed to have been taken off,
 lest the truth might be divulged, being poisoned by
 persons sent to escort him through Epirus to the sea
 coast.

XXXV. THE ambassadors quitted the conference
 in a manner which plainly shewed that they were not
 at all pleased with any thing that had passed; and
 Philip, with a full resolution to have recourse again
 to arms. But his strength being, as yet, insufficient
 for that purpose, he resolved, in order to procure
 delay, to send his younger son, Demetrius to Rome,
 to clear him of the charges brought against him,
 and, at the same time, to deprecate the wrath of the
 senate;

senate; and he had strong expectations that the young man, himself, having, while an hostage at Rome, exhibited proofs of a princely disposition, would have a good deal of influence. Meanwhile, under the pretence of carrying succour to the Byzantians, but, in reality, with design to strike terror into the chieftains of the Thracians, he marched into their country, utterly defeated them in one engagement, in which he took their commander, Amadocus, prisoner, and then returned to Macedonia, having first dispatched emissaries to persuade the barbarians, living near the Danube, to make an irruption into Italy. The Roman ambassadors, who had been ordered to go from Macedonia into Achaia, were expected daily in Peloponnesus, and, in order that the Achæans might have their plans of conduct towards them settled beforehand, their prætor, Lycortas, summoned a general council. Here the affair of the Lacedæmonians was taken into consideration. It was observed, that
 “ from enemies, they were turned accusers; and
 “ there was reason to fear, lest they should prove
 “ more formidable, after having been conquered,
 “ than when they had arms in their hands: for, in
 “ the war, the Achæans had the Romans as allies in
 “ their cause; now, the same Romans were more
 “ favourable to the Lacedæmonians than to the
 “ Achæans, since even Areus and Alcibiades, both
 “ restored from exile, through the kindness of the
 “ Achæans, had undertaken an embassy to Rome,
 “ in prejudice to a nation to which they were so
 “ much obliged; and had spoken against it, with so
 “ much animosity, that people might suppose they
 “ had been banished from their country, instead of
 “ being restored to it.” A general clamour arose, requiring him to put the question on each of them by name; and as every thing was directed by passion, not by reason, they were condemned to die. In a few days after this, the Roman ambassadors arrived, and a council was summoned to meet them at Clitor, in Arcadia;

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XXXVI. BEFORE any business was entered on, the Achæans received an alarming proof, how little impartiality they were likely to experience, in the proceedings on this cause, when they saw in company with the ambassadors, Areus and Alcibiades, whom, in their last council they had condemned to death, nor dared any of them utter a word: Appius acquainted them, that the senate was much displeased at those matters, of which the Lacedæmonians made complaint before them; "first, the massacre at Compasium, of those, who, in obedience to the summons of Philopœmen, came to stand a trial; then, after such barbarity towards men, lest their cruelty should stop at any thing, they had demolished the wall of that famous city, had abrogated its laws, of the greatest antiquity, and abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, so famed throughout the world." After Appius had spoken to this effect, Lycortas, both because he was prætor, and because he was of the faction of Philopœmen, the adviser of all that was done at Lacedæmon, answered him thus: "Appius Claudius, it is a harder task on us to plead before you, than we had lately, before the senate at Rome; for then we had to answer the accusations of the Lacedæmonians, but now, we stand accused by yourselves, before whom our cause is to be heard. But to this disadvantage of situation we submit, with this hope, that you will hear us with the temper of a judge, laying aside the character of an advocate, in which you, just now, appeared. For my part, at least, though the matters of which the Lacedæmonians complained formerly, in this place, before Quintus Cæcilius, and afterwards at Rome, have been just recapitulated by you, yet I shall consider myself as answering not to you, but, before you, to them. You charge us with the murder of those men, who, being called out by the prætor, Philopœmen, to trial, were put to death. This I think a charge

“ charge of such a nature, that it ought not to be
 “ advanced against us, either by you, Romans, or
 “ by any in your presence : and I will tell you why.
 “ One of the articles in the treaty which you signed
 “ is, that the Lacedæmonians should not intermed-
 “ dle with the cities on the coast. At the time,
 “ when they took arms, assaulted, in the night, and
 “ seized on those towns, with which they had been
 “ forbidden to intermeddle, if Titus Quintius, if a
 “ Roman army had been in Peloponnesus, as for-
 “ merly, the captured and oppressed inhabitants
 “ would surely have fled to them for relief. As you
 “ were at a great distance, to whom else would they
 “ fly, but to us, your allies, whom they had seen
 “ before bringing aid to Gythium ; whom they had
 “ seen, in conjunction with you, besieging Lacedæ-
 “ mon on their account ? In your stead, therefore,
 “ we undertook a just and rightful war ; and since
 “ other men approve this step, and even the Lace-
 “ dæmonians cannot censure it, and also, the gods
 “ themselves, by giving us the victory, have shewn
 “ their approbation of it, how can acts, done under
 “ the laws of war, be, by any means, made matter
 “ of civil disquisition ? Of these acts, however, the
 “ greatest part no wise affect us. The summoning
 “ to trial, men, who had excited the populace to
 “ arms, who had stormed and plundered the towns
 “ on the coast, who had murdered the principal in-
 “ habitants, was our act ; but, the putting them to
 “ death, when they were coming into the camp, was
 “ yours, Areus and Alcibiades, who now, truly, ar-
 “ raighn us, and not ours. The Lacedæmonian exiles,
 “ and, among the rest, these two men, who were
 “ then in our camp, thinking the attack meant
 “ against them, as they had chosen the maritime
 “ towns for their residence, made an assault on those
 “ men, by whose means they had been banished
 “ their country, and who, they perceived with in-
 “ dignation, would not suffer them even to grow
 “ old

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BOOK " old in exile with safety. Lacedæmonians there-
 XXXIX. " fore, not Achæans, slew Lacedæmonians; nor is it
 Y.R. 568. " of any consequence to dispute, whether they were
 B.C. 184. " slain justly or unjustly.

XXXVII. " But then, Achæans, these acts were
 " undeniably yours: the abolition of the laws and
 " ancient discipline of Lycurgus, and the demolition
 " of the walls. Now, how can both these charges
 " be brought forward by the same persons? since
 " the walls of Lacedæmon were built, not by Ly-
 " curgus, but a few years ago, for the purpose of
 " subverting the discipline of Lycurgus? The ty-
 " rants erected them, lately, as a fortress and defence
 " for themselves, not for the state; and, if Lucurgus
 " should rise this day from the dead, he would re-
 " joice at seeing them in ruins, and would say, that
 " he now acknowledged his country, and antient
 " Sparta. You ought not to have waited for Phi-
 " lopœmen, or the Achæans, but ought, yourselves,
 " Lacedæmonians, to have removed and razed, with
 " your own hands, every vestige of tyranny; for
 " these were the foul scars, left on you by slavery.
 " And as, during almost eight hundred years, while
 " ye were without walls, ye were free, and, for some
 " time, even chiefs of Greece; so, after being
 " bound with walls, as with fetters, you were slaves
 " for one hundred years. As to what concerns the
 " abrogating their laws, I conceive that the tyrants
 " took away the antient laws of Lacedæmon, and
 " that we did not take away their own laws, which
 " they had not, but gave them ours; and that we
 " acted no unkind part to their state, when we made
 " it a member of our council, and incorporated it
 " with ourselves, so that the whole Peloponnesus
 " should form one body, and one council. If, in-
 " deed, we had imposed on them laws, different from
 " those under which we lived ourselves, in that case,
 " I think they might complain of being treated on
 " " unfair

" unfair terms, and might be displeased. I know,
 " Appius Claudius, that the kind of discourse, which
 " I have hitherto used, is not proper either for al-
 " lies, addressing their allies, or for an independent
 " nation; but, in truth, for slaves pleading before
 " their masters. For, if the herald's proclamation,
 " in which you ordered the Achæans, in the first
 " place, to be free, was any thing more than empty
 " sound; if the treaty is valid, if the alliance and
 " friendship is maintained on equal terms, why do
 " not I inquire what you, Romans, did, on the
 " taking of Capua, as well as you demand an account
 " of our conduct towards the Lacedæmonians, when
 " we conquered them in war? Some persons were
 " killed, suppose by us. What! did not you behead
 " the Campanian senators? We demolished their
 " walls: you not only destroyed the walls, but you
 " took the city, and the lands. But you say, the
 " Achæans enjoy, in appearance, a league on equal
 " terms, but, in reality, a precarious state of free-
 " dom, while the Romans enjoy supreme power. I
 " am sensible of it, Appius; and if I ought not, I
 " do not remonstrate: but, I beseech you, let the
 " difference between the Romans and Achæans be
 " as great as it may, not to place people, who are
 " foes both to you and to us, on an equal footing
 " with us, your allies, or even on a better. For, as
 " to setting them on an equality, that we ourselves
 " have done, when we gave them our own laws,
 " when we made them members of the Achæan
 " council. Vanquished, they are not content with
 " what satisfies their conquerors; foes, they demand
 " more than allies enjoy. What we have ratified,
 " by our oaths, what we have consecrated as invio-
 " lable, to eternal remembrance, by records en-
 " graved in stone, they want to abolish, and to load
 " us with perjury. Romans, for you we have high
 " respect; and, if such is your wish, dread also: but
 " we more respect and dread the immortal gods."

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He was heard with general approbation, and all declared, that he had spoken as became the dignity of his office; so that it was easily seen, that the Romans could not support their ascendancy, by gentle methods. Appius then said, that "he earnestly recommended it to the Achæans, to shew a compliant temper, while it was in their power to act voluntarily; lest they might, presently, be obliged, by compulsion, to act against their wills." These words inspired universal affliction, and effectually deterred them from refusing compliance. They only requested the Romans "to make such alterations, respecting the Lacedæmonians, as they should judge proper; and not involve the Achæans in the guilt of annulling what they had sanctioned with their oaths." And then, all that was done was, to reverse the sentence lately passed on Areus and Alcibiades.

XXXVIII. In the beginning of this year, when the business of assigning the provinces to the consuls and prætors was taken under consideration, at Rome, Liguria was decreed to the consuls, there being no war any where else. As to the prætors, Caius Decimius Flavius obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Publius Cornelius Cethegus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Sempronius Blæsus, Sicily; Quintus Nævius Matho, Sardinia, and the charge of making inquisition concerning poisons; Aulus Terentius Varro, hither Spain, and Publius Sempronius Longus, farther Spain. From the two last provinces deputies arrived, about this time, Lucius Juvencius Thalna, and Titus Quintilius Varus, who, having represented to the senate what a formidable war had been brought to a fortunate conclusion there, requested, that in consideration of such happy success, a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods, and permission granted to the prætors to bring home the armies. The senate decreed a thanksgiving,

ing, for two days, and ordered that the question, respecting the bringing home of the armies, should lie over, and be proposed when the armies, for the consuls and prætors, should be under consideration. A few days after this, they voted to the consuls, for Liguria, two legions each, which had been commanded by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempromnius. With regard to the armies in Spain, there was a warm contention between the new prætors and friends of the absent ones, Calpurnius and Quintius. On each side were plebeian tribunes, and, on each, a consul. The former threatened, if the senate voted for bringing home the armies, to protest against their decree; the latter, that, if such a protest were made, they would not suffer any other business to proceed. At last, the interest of the absent prætors was overpowered, and a decree of the senate passed, that "the prætors should enlist four thousand Roman foot, and four hundred horse; and five thousand foot, and five hundred horse of the Latine confederates; whom they should carry with them into Spain. That, when they should have divided these, between the legions, whatever number should then be in each legion, above five thousand foot and three hundred horse, should be discharged, beginning with those who had served out their number of campaigns, and proceeding to the rest, according to their respective merits, in the service under Calpurnius and Quintius."

XXXIX. No sooner was this dispute ended, than another arose, in consequence of the death of a prætor, Caius Decimius. There stood candidates for his place, Cneius Sicinius and Lucius Pupius, who had been ædiles the year before; Caius Valerius, the flamen of Jupiter; and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, though he did not appear in the white gown, because he was curule ædile elect, yet pressed his suit with more warmth than any of them. The contest

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lay between him and the flamen, to whom he seemed at the beginning to be equal, and afterwards appeared to surpass him; on which, some of the plebeian tribunes insisted, that he ought not to be admitted a candidate, because one person could neither hold, nor administer, two offices, especially curule ones, at the same time; while others of them gave their opinion, that he ought to be exempted from the laws, in order that the people might have the power of electing prætor the person whom they wished. The consul, Lucius Porcius, was, from the beginning, inclined to refuse admitting him a candidate; and, afterwards, wishing to have the countenance of the senate in so doing, he called the members together, and told them, that "he desired their judgment in the case, where a curule ædile elect, without any colour of law, and setting a precedent insufferable in a free state, stood candidate for the prætorship; for his part, unless they determined otherwise, he intended to hold the election according to law." The senate voted, that the consul, Lucius Porcius, should recommend to Quintus Fulvius, not to raise any obstruction to prevent the assembly for substituting a prætor, in the room of Caius Decimius, from proceeding according to law. When the consul, in pursuance of this decree of the senate, applied to him on the subject, he answered, that "he would do nothing unworthy of himself;" by which indeterminate answer, he left room for people to interpret his intention, agreeably to their wish, that he meant to submit to the direction of the senate. But, in the assembly, he urged his pretensions with more eagerness than ever; remonstrating, that the consul and the senate were forcibly depriving him of the kindness intended for him by the Roman people, and exciting a clamour against a second post of honour being conferred on him; as if it were not manifest, that, when elected prætor, he must instantly abdicate the ædileship. The consul, seeing the candidate's obstinacy

obstinacy increase, and the favour of the people incline to him more and more, dissolved the assembly, and summoned a meeting of the senate; where, in a full house, a vote was passed, that "inasmuch as the directions of the senate had produced no effect on Flaccus, the affair concerning him should be laid before the people." A general assembly was, accordingly, summoned, and the consul made a full representation of the matter. Still the other remained inflexible. He returned thanks to the Roman people "for the great zeal with which they had shewn their desire to make him prætor, as often as opportunity had been given them of declaring their sentiments;" and assured them, that "it was his resolution not to disappoint such instances of the attachment of his countrymen." This determined declaration inflamed the zeal of the people for his cause, to such a degree, that he would undoubtedly have been chosen prætor, if the consul had admitted him to stand. The tribunes maintained a violent contest, both with their colleagues, and with the consul, until, at length, the senate, being assembled by the consul, passed a decree, that "whereas the obstinacy of Quintus Flaccus, and the ill-judged party zeal of many among the people, had prevented the assembly for filling the place of a prætor, from being held according to law, the senate therefore gave their judgment, that the present number of prætors was sufficient, that Publius Cornelius should hold both jurisdictions in the city, and celebrate the games of Apollo."

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XL. No sooner was this election stopped by the prudence and firmness of the senate, than another ensued, with greater heat of contest; both because the subject was of greater importance, and the competitors were more numerous, and more powerful. The censorship was very warmly contended for, by the following candidates, Lucius Valerius Flaccus,

Publius Scipio, Lucius Scipio, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, patricians; Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, plebeians. But all of them, both plebeians and patricians, of the highest ranks, were left far behind by Marcus Porcius. So great were the powers of this man's mind and capacity, that, in whatever station he was born, he seemed able to attain to any situation that he aimed at. No one qualification for the management of business, either public or private, was wanting to him. He was equally knowing in the business of the city, and of the country. Some have been advanced to the highest honours by their knowledge of the law, others by their eloquence, some by military renown; but this man's genius was so versatile, and so equally adapted to all things, that in whatever business he was engaged, it might be said, that nature formed him for that alone. In war, he was the most courageous in action, distinguishing himself highly in many remarkable battles; and, when he arrived at the highest posts, was likewise the most consummate commander. Then, in peace, if information were wanted in a case of law, he was the wisest counsellor; if a cause was to be pleaded, the most eloquent advocate. Nor was he one of those whose oratory was conspicuous, during their own lives, without leaving after them any monument of their eloquence; on the contrary, his eloquence still lives, and will long live, consecrated to memory by writings of every kind. His orations are many, spoken for himself, for others, and against others; for he harassed his enemies, not only by supporting prosecutions against them, but by maintaining causes in opposition to them. Enmities in abundance gave him plenty of employment; nor was he himself backward in the prosecution of them, so that it was not easy to tell whether the nobility laboured harder to keep him down, or he to oppress the nobility. His temper,

no doubt, was austere, his language bitter, and unbouedly free, but his mind was never ruled by his passions, his integrity was inflexible, and he looked with contempt on popularity and riches. In spare diet, in enduring toil and danger, his body and mind were like steel; so that even old age, which brings all things to dissolution, did not break his vigour. In his eighty-sixth year he stood a trial, pleaded his own cause, and published his speech; and, in his ninetieth year, he brought Servius Galba to trial, before the people.

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XLI. ON this occasion, of his standing candidate, as, through the whole course of his life the nobility always endeavoured to obstruct his promotion, and all the candidates, except Lucius Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, combined to disappoint him of the office, not merely with a view to their own success, in preference to him, or because it would grieve them to see a new man in the censorship, but also, because, from a man who had received offence from most of them, and wished to retaliate, they apprehended a harsh severity in his administration, that would endanger the reputations of many. For, even at this time, while he was soliciting the office, he uttered frequent menaces, and upbraided them with endeavouring to exclude him, because they dreaded an impartial and courageous execution of the duty, and, at the same time, he gave his interest to Lucius Valerius. He said, that "he was the only colleague, in conjunction with whom he could correct modern profligacy, and re-establish the ancient morals." People were so inflamed by such discourses, that, in spite of the opposition made by the nobility, they not only made Marcus Porcius censor, but gave him, for his colleague, Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Immediately after the election of censors, the consuls and prætors went abroad to their provinces, except Quintus Nævius, who

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who was detained from going to Sardinia, for no less than four months, by inquisitions concerning poisonings, a great part of which he held out of the city, in the corporate towns and villages; for that method was judged the more eligible. If we choose to credit Valerius Antias, he condemned two thousand men. Lucius Postumius, the prætor, to whose lot the province of Tarentum had fallen, punished some numerous conspiracies of the peasants, and, with great care, finished the remainder of the inquiries concerning the Bacchanalians. Many of these, who had not appeared on being summoned, or had deserted their bail, were then lurking in that part of Italy; some of them he sentenced to punishment, and others he sent under a guard to the senate to Rome, where they were all committed to prison by Publius Cornelius.

XLII. IN farther Spain, the Lusitanians being weakened by their losses in the late war, matters remained quiet. In hither Spain, Aulus Terentius took the town of Corbia, in Sueſetania, after a regular siege, and sold the prisoners; after which, the troops had rest in their winter quarters, in that province also. The former prætors, Caius Calpurnius Piso, and Lucius Quintius, came home to Rome, and the senate, with great cheerfulness, voted a triumph to both. Caius Calpurnius triumphed, first, over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He carried in procession eighty-three golden crowns, and twelve thousand pounds weight of silver. In a few days after, Lucius Quintius Crispinus triumphed over the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians, and carried in his triumph the same quantity of gold and silver. The censors, Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, while the public were full of anxious curiosity, blended with fear, made their survey of the senate; out of which they displaced seven members, one of them a man of consular rank, highly distinguished by nobility of birth and honourable employments, Lucius Quintius Flaminius. It is mentioned,

nioned, as a practice instituted in early times, that the censors should annex marks of censure to the names of such as they degraded from the senate. There are other severe speeches of Cato, against those whom he either expelled the senate, or degraded from equestrian rank, but by far the most severe is that against Lucius Quintius; which, if he had spoken, in the character of a prosecutor, previous to the censure, and not in that of censor after it, not even his brother Titus Quintius, if he were censor, could have suffered Quintius to remain in the senate. Among other charges, he objected to him, that he had, by hopes of extraordinary presents, prevailed on Philip, a Carthaginian and a remarkable catamite, to accompany him into his province of Gaul; that this youth, in order to enhance the merit of his complaisance to his paramour, used frequently, in wanton squabbling, to upbraid the consul for having brought him away from Rome, just before the shew of gladiators. It happened, that while they were at a feast, and heated with wine, a message was brought into the place of entertainment, that a Boian, of high rank, had come as a deserter, with his children, and wished to see the consul, that he might, in person, receive his assurance of protection. He was accordingly introduced into the tent, and began to address the consul through an interpreter: but, while he was speaking, Quintius said to his catamite, "since you came away from the shew of gladiators, have you a mind to see this Gaul dying?" and the other giving a sort of assent, between jest and earnest, the consul, at the nod of his catamite, drawing a sword that hung over his head, first, struck the Gaul on the head as he was speaking, and then, when he was running out, and imploring the faith of the Roman people, and of those present, ran him through the side.

XLIII. VALERIUS ANTIAS, who never read Cato's speech, and only gave credit to a tale published without authority, tells the story in another manner,
but

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but similar to this in lust and cruelty. He writes; that, at Placentia, the consul invited to an entertainment, a woman, of ill fame, with whom he was desperately enamoured. There, displaying his importance to this courtesan, he told her, among other matters, with what severity he had conducted the inquisitions, and how many he had then in prison, under sentence of death, whom he intended to behead. Then she, being next him on the couch, said, that having never seen any one beheaded, she was very desirous of seeing an execution; on which, the indulgent lover ordered one of those wretches to be dragged to the spot, and there cut off his head. The deed, whether committed as the censor charged, or as Valerius reports it, was barbarous and inhuman; that, in the midst of feasting and cups, when it is customary to offer libations to the gods, and to pray for happiness, a human victim should be butchered, and the table stained with his blood, and this for the entertainment of a wanton paramour, lying in the consul's bosom. In the latter part of Cato's speech, he proposes to Quintius, that if he denied this fact, and the others of which he accused him, he should give security to abide a legal trial; but if he confessed them, could he suppose, he asked him, that any one would be sorry for his disgrace, after he himself, in the midst of a feast being intoxicated with wine and lust, had sported with the blood of a human being.

XLIV. In the review of the knights Lucius Scipio Asiaticus was degraded. In fixing the rates of taxation, also, the censor's conduct was harsh and severe to all ranks of men. He ordered, that people should give account, upon oath, of women's dresses, and ornaments, and carriages, exceeding in value fifteen thousand ascs*; and that slaves, younger than twenty years, which, since the last survey, had been bought for ten thousand ascs† or more, should

* 48 l. 8 s. 9 d.

† 32 l. 5 s. 10 d.

be estimated at ten times their value ; and that, on all these articles, a tax should be laid of three denari-uses* for each thousand ascs†. All public water, running into any private building or field, the cen- sors took away ; and all buildings, or sheds, in pos- session of private persons that projected into public ground, they demolished within thirty days. They then engaged contractors for executing public works, with the money decreed for that purpose, for paving cisterns with stone, for cleansing the sewers where there was occasion, and forming new ones on the Aventine, and in other quarters where hitherto there had been none. Then, dividing their tasks, Flaccus built a mole at Neptunia, on the coast, to give a pas- sage to the public, and made a road through the Formian mountains ; and Cato purchased for the pub- lic two halls, the Mænian, and Titian, in the street Lauturniæ, and four shops, and on that ground, erect- ed a court of justice, which was called the Porcian. They farmed out the several branches of the reve- nue, at the highest prices ; while they allowed very small profits for the services, on which the money was to be expended. But the senate, overcome by the prayers and lamentations of the publicans, ordered those bargains to be revoked, and new agree- ments to be made ; on which the censores, by an edict, prohibited the persons, who had eluded the former contracts, from being concerned in the new ones, and farmed out all the same branches at prices very little reduced. This censorship was very re- markable, and produced abundance of animosities, which drew on Marcus Porcius, to whom all the harshness was attributed, much uneasiness during the remainder of his life. This year, two colonies were established, Potentia in Picenum, and Pisaurum in the Gallic territory. Six acres were given to each settler. The same commissioners settled both colo- nies, and divided the lands. Quintus Fabius Labeo,

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* 1 s. 11½ d.

† 3 l. 4 s. 9 d.

BOOK Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, the consuls of that year, performed nothing memorable, at home or abroad.
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B. C. 183. were Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Fabius Labeo. Marcus Claudius and Quintus Fabius, on the ides of March, the first day of their assuming the administration, proposed to the senate to determine their provinces, and those of the prætors. The prætors appointed, were Caius Valerius, flamen of Jupiter, who had been a candidate the year before, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius Pupius, Lucius Julius, and Cneius Sicinius. Liguria was ordered to be the province of the consuls, and the armies were assigned to them, which had been commanded by Publius Claudius and Marcus Porcius. The two Spains, without being put to the lot, were reserved for the prætors who held them the year before, and also their own armies. The prætors were ordered to regulate their casting lots, in such a manner, that the flamen of Jupiter should have one or other of the judicial employments in the city. The foreign jurisdiction fell to his lot, that between citizens to Cornelius Sisenna. Sicily fell to Spurius Posthumius, Apulia to Lucius Pupius, Gaul to Lucius Julius. Sardinia to Cneius Sicinius. Lucius Julius was ordered to hasten to his province, because some transalpine Gauls, as was mentioned before, having made their way through the forests into Italy, by a road unknown before, were building a town in the country, now the district of Aquileia. The prætor received a charge to interrupt their proceedings, as far as he could, without having recourse to arms; and, if it should be necessary to stop them by force, to give information to the consuls, one of whom was, in that case, directed to march his legions against the Gauls. Towards the close of the preceding year, an assembly had been held for the purpose of electing an augur, in the room of Cneius Cornelius

Cornelius deceased, and Spurius Postumius Albinus was chosen.

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XLVI. IN the beginning of this year, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, died, in whose room was appointed as pontiff Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, and Caius Servilius Geminus was raised to the place of chief pontiff. On occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius, a largess of flesh was distributed to the people, and one hundred and twenty pair of gladiators fought. The funeral games lasted three days; and, after the games, a public feast was given; during which, while the couches were spread all over the Forum, a storm, which came on with violent gusts of wind, compelled most of the people to pitch tents in the Forum, which, on the weather clearing up, in a short time after, were removed. On this, people in general remarked, that they had fulfilled a prophecy, which soothsayers had pronounced, among the decrees of the fates, that, inevitably, tents would be pitched in the Forum. No sooner were they eased of the apprehensions, caused by this prophecy, than they were struck with new ones, by showers of blood falling, for two days, in the area of Vulcan's temple, and the decemvirs ordered a supplication for the expiation of the prodigy. Before the consuls set out for their provinces, they introduced the foreign embassies to an audience of the senate; and at no other time was there ever in Rome such a number of people from countries beyond sea. For, as soon as it became generally known, through the nations bordering on Macedonia, that accusations and complaints against Philip were listened to by the Romans, with some degree of attention, and that many had profited by having complained, all those states and nations, and even individuals, on their own accounts, (for he was a troublesome neighbour to every one,) flocked to Rome, with hopes of obtaining either redress of their injuries, or at least, the consolation of expressing

expressing their griefs. An embassy came, also, from king Eumenes with his brother Athenæus, to complain of his not withdrawing his garrisons out of Thrace; and, likewise, of his sending succours into Bithynia, to Prusias, who was at war with Eumenes.

XLVII. To Demetrius, who was then very young, was assigned the task of answering all their charges; and it was no easy matter to retain in memory, either all the particulars complained of, or what was proper to be said in reply. For the charges were not only numerous, but, most of them, exceedingly frivolous: of disputes about boundaries; of men forced away, and cattle driven off; of justice, either partially administered or refused; of sentences respecting property, founded either on force or influence. The senate perceived that Demetrius could not explain any of those matters, distinctly, and that the information which they could obtain from him, was not sufficiently clear; at the same time, the youth through inexperience and bashfulness, was much embarrassed. They therefore ordered, that he should be asked, whether he had received from his father any written instructions on those points, and on his answering that he had, they thought it the best and properest way to receive the answers of the king himself, on each particular head, and immediately called for the writing; but, afterwards, they gave him leave to read it to them himself. Here were his apologies, on each several subject, concisely stated in a narrow compass; in some cases, that he had acted in conformity to the determinations of the ambassadors; in others, that the fault, of not conforming to them, lay not in him, but actually in the persons themselves who accused him. He had interspersed, also, remonstrances on the injustice of those determinations, and the partiality that appeared when those matters were discussed before Quintus Cæcilius;

Cæcilius; as well as the indecent and unmerited insults thrown on him by all. The senate remarked these tokens of his temper being highly provoked; nevertheless, on the young man apologizing for some things, and undertaking that others should be performed in the manner most agreeable to the senate, they ordered this answer to be given him, that "in no instance, was his father's conduct either
 " more proper, or more pleasing to the senate, than
 " in his choosing, whatever the nature of those
 " transactions might be, to send his excuses for them
 " to the Romans, by his son Demetrius. That the
 " senate could leave unnoticed, forget, and put up
 " with, many past matters, and believed also that
 " they might place confidence in Demetrius; for,
 " though they restored his person to his father, they
 " still had his mind as an hostage, and were convinced that, as far as was compatible with his
 " duty to his father, he was a friend to the Roman
 " people. That, out of regard to him, they would
 " send ambassadors into Macedonia, in order that
 " if any thing which ought to have been done, was
 " left undone, it might then be effected, but still
 " without any vindictive retrospect to former omissions. That they would be glad if Philip also
 " were sensible that he was indebted to his son Demetrius for the continuance of the good understanding between him and the Romans."

XLVIII. THESE honourable declarations, intended to add to the dignity of his character, proved to the young man the cause of immediate envy, and of not far distant ruin. The Lacedæmonians were next introduced, when many, and those insignificant, disputes, were agitated; but the most important were, whether the persons condemned by the Achæans, should be reinstated or not; and whether the persons put to death by them, were justly slain: and whether the Lacedæmonians should continue in the Achæan council,

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council, or, as had formerly been the case, that single state in Peloponnesus, should have separate independence. It was determined, that the condemned should be reinstated, and the sentences passed reversed; that Lacedæmon should continue in the Achæan council, and that this decree should be committed to writing, and signed by the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. Quintus Marcius was sent ambassador into Macedonia, with orders, likewise, to take a view of the affairs of the allies in Peloponnesus; for there also disturbances still subsisted, in consequence of the old quarrels, and Messene had revolted from the Achæan confederacy. But if I were to trace out the cause and progress of this war, I should deviate from the resolution which I laid down, of not meddling with foreign transactions, farther than they are connected with the affairs of Rome.

XLIX. ONE event deserves to be mentioned: that, notwithstanding the Achæans had a superiority in the war, Philopœmen, their prætor, was taken prisoner, on his march to secure Corone, which the enemy meant to attack, being, with a small party of horse, surprised and overpowered by the enemy in a dangerous defile. It is said, that he might have effected his own escape, by the aid of some Thracians and Cretans, who were with him, but was hindered by the shame of deserting his horsemen, the most distinguished youths in the nation, selected by himself, a short time before. While he procured these an opportunity of getting clear of the narrow defile, by closing the rear, in person, and sustaining the assaults of the enemy, his horse fell; and by the shock of his fall, and the weight of the horse, which fell upon him, he was very nearly killed on the spot; for he was now seventy years old, and his strength had been greatly impaired by a tedious illness, from which he was but just recovered. While he lay on the

the ground, the enemy, pouring on, secured him; and, knowing him at once, out of respect to his character, and regard to his merit, they raised him up with as much care, as if he had been their own commander, took every pains to revive him, and carried him out of that remote valley into the road. Their joy was so great, and so unexpected, that they scarcely believed their own senses; however, some of them sent on messages to Messene, that the war was at an end, for they were bringing Philopoemen in custody. At first, the thing seemed so incredible, that the messenger was deemed not only a liar, but almost a madman. Afterwards, when numbers came, one after another, all asserting the same thing, the matter was at length believed; and, before they well knew whether he was come near the city, every human being, freemen and slaves, even women and children, poured out to enjoy the sight; so that the multitude quite closed up the gate, every one pushing eagerly forward; and seeming as if nothing but the testimony of their own eyes could convince them of so momentous an event. Those who conducted Philopoemen, made their way with difficulty through the crowd, so as to pass into the gate; but the rest of the way was quite shut up by the thick press of people; and, as the greatest part of these were excluded from the sight, they suddenly rushed into a theatre which was contiguous to the street, and all with one voice insisted, that he should be brought thither into the view of the people. The magistrates and leading men were afraid, that the people's compassion for so great a man, on his being brought before them, would cause some disturbance; as many would be moved by respect for his former dignity, when they compared it with his present condition, and many, by the recollection of his transcendent merits; they therefore placed him, where he could be seen at a distance, and quickly after hurried him away out of the sight of the people, who were told

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by the prætor, Dinocrates, that the magistrates wanted to ask him some questions, on points that were material to the success of the war. Having carried him thence to the senate house, and called the senate together, they began a consultation on the measures to be pursued.

L. THE evening came on while they were still at a loss, not only about other matters, but even about the place where he might be kept, with proper security, during the following night. They were quite confounded when they reflected on the greatness of his former fortune and merit; and they neither dared to undertake the guarding of him, at their houses, nor thought it safe to trust the custody of him to any individual. At last, some persons reminded them of a public treasury, under ground, inclosed with hewn stone; into this place he was put down, in chains, and a huge stone, which served it as a cover, was placed over it, with the help of a machine. After having thus determined to trust to the place, rather than to any man, for his safe keeping, they waited with impatience for the following day. Next day, the whole populace to a man, mindful of his former services to the state, declared their opinion, that they ought to spare him, and to seek, through his means, some remedies for their present misfortunes. But the authors of the revolt, in whose hands was the management of affairs, held a secret consultation, in which it was unanimously resolved to put him to death; but whether they should do it speedily, or defer it, was, for some time, a matter of doubt. The party that wished his immediate execution, at length, prevailed, and a person was sent to him with poison. We are told, that on receiving the cup, he only asked if Lycortas, the other commander of the Achæans, and the horsemen, had escaped with safety; and being told that they were safe, he said, "It is well," and then, intrepidly
5 drinking

drinking the contents of the cup, expired shortly after. Nor did the actors of this piece of cruelty rejoice long at his death; for the Messenians were vanquished in the war, and compelled, by the positive demands of the Achæans, to deliver up the guilty into their hands. The bones of Philopœmen were restored, and his funeral was attended by the whole Achæan council, who heaped on him, not only every human, but even several divine honours. Historians, both Greek and Latine, entertain so high an idea of this man, that several of them have recorded, as a circumstance remarkably distinguishing this year, that three illustrious commanders died in it, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Publius Scipio, placing him on an equal footing with the most consummate generals of the two most powerful nations.

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LI. TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMININUS came ambassador to king Prusias, who had incurred the jealousy of the Romans, by entertaining Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus, and by making war on Eumenes. Soon after his arrival, either in consequence of his having, among other discourse, remonstrated with Prusias, on his giving protection to a person, who, of all men living, was the most inveterate enemy to the Roman nation; who had incited, first, his own country, and, afterwards, when its power was reduced, king Antiochus, to make war on Rome; or of Prusias having, of himself, from a desire of gratifying Flamininus, while he was present, and the Roman people, conceived the design of killing him, or delivering him into their hands; immediately after the first conference with Flamininus a party of soldiers was sent to guard Hannibal's house, and Hannibal had always foreseen some such end of his life; for he knew the implacable hatred which the Romans bore him, and placed little confidence in the faith of kings. Besides, he had experienced the fickle temper of Prusias, and he had,

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for some time, dreaded the arrival of Flaminius, as an event fatal to him. Surrounded, as he was, by dangers, on all sides, in order to have always some passage open for flight, he had made seven doors to his house, of which some were concealed, lest they might be invested by a guard. But the imperious government of kings suffers nothing to remain secret, which they choose to discover. The troops formed a circle of guards round the house in such a manner, that it was impossible to slip out. Hannibal, on being told, that some of the king's soldiers were in the porch, endeavoured to escape through a back door, which was the most private, and whence the passage was least likely to be observed; but, perceiving that to be guarded, by a body of soldiers, and every avenue round to be shut by guards, he called for poison, which he had long kept in readiness against such an event; and said, "Let us release the
 " Romans from their long anxiety, since they have
 " not patience to wait for the death of an old man.
 " Flaminius will gain no very great or memorable
 " victory, over a man unarmed and betrayed. What
 " an alteration has taken place in the behaviour of
 " the Roman people, this day affords abundant
 " proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus,
 " their armed foe, then heading an army against
 " them in Italy, to beware of poison. The present
 " generation have sent an ambassador, of consular
 " rank, to persuade Prusias villanously to murder
 " his guest." Then imprecating curses on the head of Prusias, and on his kingdom, and calling on the gods, the avengers of violated hospitality, to witness his breach of faith, he drank off the contents of the cup. In this manner did Hannibal end his life.

I.II. BOTH Polybius and Rutilius say, that Scipio died in this year; but I do not agree either with them, or Valerius. Not with them, because I find that, in the censorship of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius,

Valerius, the censor himself, Lucius Valerius, was chosen prince of the senate, which place had for the three preceding lustrums been held by Africanus; and, if he were alive, unless he were displaced from the senate, which disgrace no one has recorded, another prince would not have been chosen in his room. The authority of Antias is refuted by the plebeian tribunate of Marcus Nævius, against whom there is extant a speech, signed by Publius Africanus. Now, this Marcus Nævius, in the register of the magistrates, appears to have been plebeian tribune, in the consulship of Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius; but he entered on the tribuneship in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, on the fourth day before the ides of December, from which time, to the ides of March, when Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius entered on the consulship, there are three months. Thus it appears that he was alive in the tribunate of Marcus Nævius, and might have been prosecuted by him; but that he died, before the censorship of Lucius Valerius and Marcus Porcius. The deaths of the three most illustrious men of their respective nations have a similarity, not only in respect to the concurrence of the times, but in this circumstance also, that no one of them met a death, suitable to the splendour of his life. In the first place, none of them either died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were taken off by poison; Hannibal breathed his last in exile, betrayed by his host; Philopœmen in captivity, in a prison, and in chains. Scipio, though neither banished, nor condemned, yet, under prosecution, and summoned as an absent criminal to a trial, at which he did not appear, passed sentence of voluntary exile, not only, on himself, while alive, but, likewise, on his body, after death.

LIII. DURING these transactions in Peloponnesus, whence I digressed, the return of Demetrius, with the ambassadors, into Macedonia, affected peoples minds in various manners. The generality of the Macedonians, terrified by the apprehension of an impending war with the Romans, looked with the highest esteem on Demetrius, the person to whom they owed the continuance of peace; and, at the same time, with confident expectation, destined him to the throne, after the demise of his father. They argued, that, “ although he was younger than Perseus, yet he was born of a legitimate wife, and the other of a concubine; that the latter, born of a mother, who did not confine her favours to one man, had no likeness to any particular father, whereas the former had a striking resemblance of Philip. Besides, it was probable, that the Romans would place him on the throne of his father, as Perseus had no pretensions to their favour.” Such was the conversation of people in general. As to Perseus, he was tortured with fear, lest his age alone might not sufficiently secure his interest, as his brother had the advantage of him in every other particular; and Philip, himself, doubting his own ability of choosing which of them he should leave heir to his dominions, began to think that his younger son encroached on him, more than he could wish. He was, sometimes, displeased at the numerous attendance of the Macedonians, round the prince, and chagrined at perceiving that there was a second court, during his own life time. Then the young man himself, no doubt, came home with more lofty notions of himself, elated with the honours paid him by the senate, and their having conceded to him, what they had refused to his father; insomuch that every mention of the Romans, whatever degree of respect it procured him, from the rest of the Macedonians, created an equal degree of envy, not only in the breast

breast of his brother, but also in that of his father; especially after the other Roman ambassadors arrived, and the king was obliged to evacuate Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons, and to perform the other articles, either according to the decisions of the former ambassadors, or the late regulations made by the senate. But all this he did with great reluctance, and even with anguish of mind. His feelings of this sort were aggravated, by seeing his son more frequently in company with them, than with himself; nevertheless, to avoid giving any pretence for an immediate commencement of hostilities, he paid submissive attention to the Romans, in every thing; and, in order to turn away their thoughts, from a suspicion of any such designs, he led an army into the heart of Thrace, against the Odrysians, Danthelians, and Bessians. He took the city of Philippopolis, after it was deserted by the inhabitants, who fled with their families to the tops of the nearest mountains; and, by wasting the country, reduced the barbarians, living in the plains, to submission. Then, leaving a garrison in Philippopolis, which was soon after expelled by the Odrysians, he set about building a town in Deuriopus. This is a district of Pæonia, near the river Erigonus, which, flowing from Illyricum, through Pæonia, falls into the river Axios. Not far from the old city of Stobæ he built his new one, which he ordered to be called Perseis, in honour of his elder son.

LIV. WHILE these things passed in Macedonia, the consuls went to their provinces. Marcellus sent forward an express to Lucius Porcius, the proconsul, to lead up the legions, to the new town of the Gauls. On the arrival of the consul, the Gauls surrendered themselves. There were of these twelve thousand fighting men, most of whom had arms, which they had forced from the people of the country; and all these were, to their great mortification, taken from

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them, as was every thing else which they had either acquired by plundering in the country, or had brought along with them. On this, they sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of those proceedings, who being introduced to audience of the senate, by the prætor Caius Valerius, represented, that " in consequence " of a redundancy of people in Gaul, they had been " compelled, by scarcity of land, and by the want of " every thing, to cross the Alps, in quest of a " settlement. That, finding, in a desert part of the " country, lands lying uncultivated, they had settled " there, without doing injury to any. They had, " likewise, begun to build a town, which was a proof " that they did not come to offer injury to any " country, or city. That, some time ago, Marcus " Claudius sent them a message, that unless they " surrendered to him, he would make war on them, " and that, preferring a certain, though not very " honourable, peace, to the uncertainties of war, " they had surrendered themselves into the protec- " tion of the Roman people, before they submitted " to its power. That, in a short time after, being " ordered to quit the town and the country, they " had intended to remove, without murmuring, to " whatever part of the world they could; and that " then, their arms, and finally all the property which " they had brought with them, were taken from them. " They therefore besought the senate and people of " Rome, not to treat harmless people, who had " surrendered themselves, with more harsh severity, " than they would enemies." To this discourse the senate ordered the following answer to be given: That " on one hand, they had not acted properly " in coming into Italy, and attempting to build a " town, in the territory of other people, without " permission from any Roman magistrate command- " ing in that province; and, on the other, that the " senate did not approve of people, who had sur- " rendered, being stripped of their property. They " would

“ would therefore appoint ambassadors, who should
 “ go with them to the consuls, and order all their
 “ effects to be restored, provided they returned to
 “ the place whence they came; and who should also
 “ proceed to the other side of the Alps, and give
 “ warning to the Gallic states, to keep their people
 “ at home. That the two countries were separated
 “ by the Alps, an almost insuperable barrier, which,
 “ whoever should pass, in future, should meet no
 “ better fate than those did who first shewed them
 “ passable.” The ambassadors sent were, Lucius
 Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius, Publius Man-
 lius Acidinus. The Gauls, on receiving restitution
 of all the effects, which had been justly their own,
 withdrew out of Italy.

BOOK
 XXXIX.
 Y. R. 569.
 B. C. 389.

LV. THE transalpine states answered the Roman ambassadors, in terms of friendship and kindness. Their elders even found fault with the excessive lenity of the Roman people, in “ suffering men,
 “ who, without an order of their nation, left their
 “ home, and attempted to seize on lands belonging
 “ to the Roman empire, and to build a town, on
 “ the ground of other people, to depart with im-
 “ punity. They ought,” they said, “ to have
 “ suffered severely for their inconsiderate conduct;
 “ and, as to the restoration of their effects, they
 “ expressed a fear, lest, in consequence of this too
 “ great tenderness, more people might be encouraged
 “ to attempts of a like nature.” They both enter-
 tained the ambassadors, and conferred considerable
 presents on them. The consul Marcus Claudius,
 when he had sent away the Gauls out of his pro-
 vince, began to prepare for a war with the Istrians,
 and wrote to the senate, for permission to lead the
 legions into their country. The senate approved of
 the measure. They formed an intention of esta-
 blishing a colony at Aquileia; but were some time
 divided in opinion, whether it should consist of
 Latines,

Latines, or Roman citizens; and, at last, they passed a vote, in favour of a Latine colony being settled there. The commissioners appointed for the purpose, were Publius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. In the same year, colonies of Roman citizens were led out to Mutina, and Parma. Two thousand men were settled in each colony, on lands which lately belonged to the Boians, and formerly to the Tuscans; they received at Parma eight acres, at Mutina five each. The commissioners who conducted these colonies, were Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Lucius Quintius Crispinus. The colony of Saturnia, also, consisting of Roman citizens, was settled on the lands of Caletra, by Quintus Fabius Labeo, Caius Afranius Stellio, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who, being the commissioners, assigned to each man ten acres.

LVI. THIS year Aulus Terentius Varro, proprætor, fought some successful battles with the Celtiberians, near the river Iberus, in the territory of Ausera, and reduced several towns, which they had fortified in that quarter. The farther Spain was quiet, during the whole year; for Publius Sempronius, the proprætor, was seized with a lingering disorder, and the Lusitanians, not being attacked, very fortunately remained at rest. Neither in Liguria was any thing extraordinary performed, by Quintus Fabius the consul. Marcus Marcellus, being recalled out of Istria, to attend the elections, disbanded his army, and came home to Rome. He elected consuls Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, and Lucius Æmilius Paulus. This latter had been curule ædile, along with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, from whose consulate this was the fifth year, wherein this Lepidus, after two disappointments, was chosen consul. Then were elected prætors, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Publius Manlius a second time,

time, Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, Lucius Cæcilius Deſiter, and Caius Terentius Iſtra. Towards the cloſe of the year, a ſupplication was performed, on occaſion of prodigies, for people were perſuaded that it had rained blood for two days in the court of the temple of Concord; and an account was received, that, near the coaſt of Sicily, a new iſland, which had not exiſted before, roſe up out of the ſea. Valerius Antias fixes the death of Hannibal in this year, and ſays, that beſides Titus Quintius Flamininus, whoſe name is mentioned in this buſineſs, by all writers, Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus, and Publius Scipio Naſica, were ſent ambaffadors to Pruiſias on that occaſion.

BOOK
XXXIX.
Y. R. 579.
B. C. 182.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XL.

Violent contests between Demetrius and Perseus, the sons of Philip, king of Macedonia. In consequence of the intrigues and calumnies of Perseus, and the jealousy excited by Demetrius's attachment to the Romans, the latter is put to death, by poison : by which means, after the death of Philip, Perseus obtains the crown. Successes of the Romans, under different commanders, against the Ligurians ; and, in Spain, against the Celtiberians. The books of Numa Pompilius discovered, buried in a stone chest, under the Janiculum ; burned by the prætor, by order of the senate. Philip discovers the villainous machinations of Perseus ; determines to bring him to punishment, and to settle the crown upon Antigonus ; dies, and is succeeded by Perseus.

BOOK I. **XL.** **A**T the commencement of the next year, the consuls and prætors settled the distribution of their provinces. For the consuls, there was no province to be decreed, except Liguria. The city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus ; the foreign, to Marcus Valerius ; the hither Spain, to Marcus Fulvius Flaccus ; the farther, to Publius Manlius ; Sicily, to Lucius Cæcilius Denter ; and Sardinia, to Caius Terentius Istra. The consuls were ordered to levy troops, for Quintus Fabius had written from Liguria, that the Apuans seemed inclined to renew hostilities, and

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and that there was reason to apprehend their making an irruption into the district of Pisæ. From Spain, also, intelligence was received, that the hither province was in arms, and that the war still continued with the Celtiberians; and that, in the farther province, in consequence of the long sickness of the prætor, the discipline of the army was greatly relaxed, through inactivity and intemperance. For these reasons, it was decreed, that new armies should be raised; four legions for Liguria, each containing five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, and to these were added, of the Latines, fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. These were to complete the two consular armies. They were ordered, also, to enrol seven thousand foot, and six hundred horse, of the allies and Latines, and to send them into Gaul to Marcus Marcellus, who, on the expiration of his consulship, was continued in command. For the Spains, also, there were raised, to be sent into both provinces, four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of Roman citizens; and, of the allies, seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse. Quintus Fabius Labeo was continued in command, for the year, with the army that he then had in Liguria.

II. THE spring of this year was remarkable for storms. On the day before the feast of Pales, a tremendous hurricane arose, and made shocking havoc in many places, both sacred and common. It threw down brazen statues, in the capitol; tore away a gate from the temple of Luna, on the Aventine, and dashed it against the wall of the temple of Ceres: overturned other statues in the great circus, together with the pillars on which they stood; and tore off several cupolas from the tops of temples, which it shattered to pieces, and scattered about. This storm was deemed a prodigy, and the aruspices ordered it to be expiated. At the same time, expiation was made for a mule, with three feet, being said to be foaled

BOOK foaled at Reate ; and for a temple of Apollo, at Formiæ, and another at Caieta, which were said to be struck by lightning. On account of these prodigies, twenty of the larger victims were sacrificed, and a supplication, of one day's continuance, was performed. About the same time, information was brought, by a letter from Aulus Terentius, proprætor, that Publius Sempronius, after struggling with¹ his disorder, for more than a year, died in the farther province ; for which reason, the prætors were ordered to make the more haste into Spain. The foreign embassies, then, had audience of the senate : and, first, those of the kings Eumenes and Pharnaces, and of the Rhodians, complaining of the sufferings of the inhabitants of Sinope. There came, also, at this time, ambassadors from Philip, and the Achæans, and Lacedæmonians, to whom the senate gave answers, after having, first, heard the report of Marcius, who had been sent to inspect the affairs of Greece and Macedonia. To the Asiatic kings, and the Rhodians, they answered, that they would send ambassadors to examine into those matters.

III. MARCIUS had increased their anxiety, respecting Philip ; for, though he acknowledged that he had complied with the injunctions of the senate, yet he complied, he said, in such a manner, as demonstrated that his compliance would last no longer than it was enforced by necessity ; nor was it difficult to see, that he intended to make another trial of the fortune of war, every action and word of his, at the present, having a tendency that way. In the first place, he removed almost the whole body of horsemen, with their families, from the maritime cities, into Emathia, as it is now called, formerly Pæonia, and gave up those cities to be inhabited by Thracians, and other barbarians ; thinking that such kind of people would prove more faithful to him, in case of a war with Rome. This proceeding caused great discontent

discontent all over Macedonia; and of those, who, with their wives and children, were obliged to leave their dwellings, few concealed their grief in silence; most of them, as they marched, in bodies along the roads, letting their hatred get the better of their fears, openly uttered curses against the king. This disturbed his mind to such a degree, that he conceived suspicions of danger from every man, from every place, and season; and, at last, went so far as to declare openly, that he could not think himself safe, in any respect, without seizing and confining the sons of those whom he had put to death, and sending them out of the world at different times.

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IV. THE cruelty of these proceedings, horrible in itself, was rendered still more so by the calamities of one particular family. Philip had, many years before, put to death Herodicus, a Thessalian of distinction; he, afterwards, put to death his sons-in-law; and his daughters, who were thus left widows, had each one son. The names of the women were Theoxena, and Archo. Theoxena, though courted by many, rejected every offer of marriage. Archo married a person called Poris, the first in dignity of the Ænean nation; and, after bearing him many children, died, leaving them all young. Theoxena then, in order that her sister's children might be educated under her own inspection, married Poris, and, as if she herself had borne them all, treated her sister's sons, and her own, with the same affectionate care. When she heard of the king's order, for seizing the children of the persons put to death, supposing that they would be reduced to a shameful subserviency, not only to the king's lust, but to that of his guards, she formed a horrid project, and had the hardiness to declare, that she would kill them all with her own hand, rather than they should come into the power of Philip. Poris, shocked at the mention of such a dreadful deed, told her that he would

would carry them away to Athens, to some faithful friends, and would himself accompany them in their flight. They all went from Thessalonica to Ænea, to a slated sacrifice, which is performed there, yearly, with great solemnity, in honour of Æneas, the founder of the nation. After spending the day there, in the anniversary feast, about the third watch, when all were asleep, they embarked in a vessel ready prepared by Poris, as if they intended to return to Thessalonica; but their design was to cross over to Eubæa. However, day-light overtook them, at a small distance from the land, where they were struggling in vain against a contrary wind, and the king's officers, who commanded the garrison of the port, dispatched an armed bark to bring back their ship, with a strict injunction not to return without it. When this vessel came near the other, Poris exerted every effort to animate the rowers and sailors, and, raising his hands towards heaven, supplicated the gods for succour. Meanwhile, the woman, with desperate fury recurring to the shocking design, which she had long before premeditated, dissolved some poison, and produced swords; then, placing the cup before their eyes, and unsheathing the swords, said, "Death is our only refuge. These are the ways to death, of which let each take which-ever he prefers; so shall you escape the tyranny of the king. Come, then, dear youths, let those of you who are the elder, first take the sword, or drink the cup, if a slower death is your choice." On one hand, the enemy were approaching fast; on the other, she, who urged them to dispatch themselves, was instant: whereupon the young men, putting an end to their lives, some in one way, and some in another, were thrown, expiring, out of the ship. Then, embracing her husband and companion in death, she plunged into the sea, and the king's people took possession of the ship, in which they found not one of its owners.

V. THE shocking circumstances of this transaction, added fresh fuel to the flame of the public resentment against the king, in so much that most people imprecated curses on him, and his children; which curses were heard by all the gods, and, soon after, caused him to vent his cruelty on those of his own blood. For Perseus, perceiving that the popularity, and high reputation, of his brother Demetrius increased, daily, among the Macedonians; and also his interest with the Romans, saw no hope left to himself of obtaining the crown, except by some wicked device: he, therefore, bent all his thoughts to that one point. But, not thinking himself, alone, strong enough even for that dastardly project, which he meditated in his effeminate mind, he began to tamper with each of his father's friends, by dark hints, and suggestions. At first, several of those shewed an appearance of rejecting with aversion, any such overtures; because they entertained higher expectations from Demetrius: but afterwards, observing that Philip's animosity to the Romans increased every day, and that Perseus fomented it; but that Demetrius laboured, with all his might, to assuage it, they foresaw the end of the youth, who used no precaution to guard against the base designs of his brother; and thinking it prudent to promote what they judged must happen, and to support the pretensions of the more powerful, they united themselves to Perseus. Other measures they deferred, to be executed each in its season; for the present, they determined to use every means to inflame the king's anger towards the Romans, and to urge him to resolve on war, to which he was of himself very much inclined. At the same time, in order to aggravate his suspicions of Demetrius, they made it a practice among them, to take opportunities, in conversation, of speaking contemptuously of the Romans; on which occasions, while some depreciated their manners and institutions, some their military achievements,

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ments, some the appearance of the city itself undorned, as yet, and without either public or private structures; and others, some particular individuals among their principal men: the unwary young man, out of affection to the Roman nation, and warmth of opposition to his brother, maintained their cause in every particular; and by this means rendered himself more suspected by his father, and more obnoxious to injurious insinuations. The father, therefore, kept him a stranger to all his designs respecting the Romans; and bestowing his entire confidence on Perseus, held with him daily, and nightly, deliberations, on that subject. It happened, that some persons, whom he had sent to the Bastarnians, to solicit aid, came home at this time, and brought with them several young men of distinction, and some of the royal family; one of whom promised his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the close connection with that nation greatly raised the king's spirits. Hereupon, Perseus said, "What does that avail? "Foreign aids do not give us security, proportioned to the danger that threatens us from domestic treachery. I am unwilling to call him traitor, but a spy we certainly have in our bosom; who, since he was a hostage at Rome, though the Romans returned us his person, has left his heart in their possession. Almost every one of the Macedonians looks up to him, supposing that they are to have no other king than one given by the Romans." By such discourses, the old man's mind, disordered in itself, was stimulated to passion, and these imputations sunk deeper in his mind, than appeared from his countenance.

VI. THE time of the purification of the army now arrived. The form of which ceremony is this: a dog being cut asunder in the middle, the head, with the fore part and the entrails, is laid on the right side of the road, and the hind part on the left. Between the

the parts of the victim, thus divided, the forces under arms, march along the road. In the front of the van, are carried the remarkable suits of armour of all the kings of Macedonia, from the remotest origin; next follows the king himself, with his children; then the royal cohort and body guards, and the rest of the national troops close the rear. On this occasion, the king was accompanied by his two sons, one on each side of him; Perseus being now in his thirtieth year, Demetrius five years younger, the former in the full strength of manhood, the latter in its bloom; a ripe progeny, capable of rendering their father happy, if sound wisdom had regulated their conduct. The custom was, that when the ceremony of the purification was finished, the troops performed their exercise; and then, being divided into two equal parties, engaged in representation of a battle. The young princes were appointed commanders in this mock engagement; but it was not a representation of a fight, for they engaged in such a manner, as if they were fighting for the throne: many wounds were given with the foils, nor was any thing but sharp weapons wanting to complete the appearance of a regular battle. The party, under Demetrius, had a great superiority; and, while Perseus was greatly vexed thereat, his judicious friends rejoiced, and said, that that very circumstance would afford grounds for heavy charges against the young man.

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Y. R. 570.

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VII. EACH of them gave an entertainment that day to his party, who had exercised under his command. Perseus was invited to supper by Demetrius, but refused; however, cheerful hospitality, on such a festival day, and youthful mirth, led both to drink freely of wine. The conversation turned on the incidents of the mock engagement, and jocular remarks were thrown on their antagonists, without sparing even the commanders themselves. To listen, and to catch, such expressions, a spy was sent from among the guests of Perseus; but,

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not conducting himself with sufficient caution, he was caught by some young men who happened to come out of the banquetting room, and severely beaten.

Demetrius, knowing nothing of this matter, said, "Why don't we go and join in merriment with my brother, and assuage, by our openness and cheerfulness, any remains of his anger that may subsist since the fight?" All cried out at once, that they would go, except those who were afraid of immediate vengeance, for their having beaten the spy; and these, being pressed by Demetrius to go with the rest, concealed swords under their cloaths, with which they might defend themselves if any violence should be offered. In the case of domestic discord, nothing can be kept secret. Both houses were full of spies and traitors. An informer ran on, before, to Perseus and told him, that four young men, armed with swords, were coming with Demetrius. Though he well knew the reason, for he had heard of the beating given to his guest, yet, for the purpose of giving the matter a bad colour, he ordered the gate to be locked; and from the upper part of the house, and the windows facing the street, he called to the revellers not to come nigh the gate, as if they came to murder him. Demetrius, being in liquor, exclaimed loudly for a little while, on his being shut out; and then, went home to his own feast, entirely ignorant of the meaning of this proceeding.

VIII. NEXT day, Perseus, as soon as he could be admitted to his father's presence, went into the palace, with a countenance expressive of great perturbation, and, in sight of his father, stood silent, at a distance. On his father asking him "if all was well, and what was the cause of that sadness?" he answered, "I must tell you, that it is, but by mere accident, that I am now alive. My brother attacks us, not with secret treachery. He came last night to my house, with men in arms, to take away my life;

" life; and it was by shutting the doors, and keep-
 " ing the walls between me and him, that I defended
 " myself from his fury." As these words filled his
 father with horror, mixed with wonder, he added,
 " if you can prevail on yourself to listen to me, I
 " will give you the clearest proof of the matter."
 Philip told him, he would certainly listen to him, or-
 dered Demetrius to be instantly called, and sent for
 two friends of advanced age, who never interfered
 in the disputes of the brothers, and, of late had but
 seldom appeared in the palace, Lyfimachus and Ono-
 mastus, that he might have the assistance of their
 advice. While his friends were coming, he walked
 about, by himself, revolving many things in his mind,
 while his son stood at a distance; and on being told
 that they were come, he retired into another apart-
 ment, with his two friends, and two of his life guards,
 and permitted his sons to bring in each three persons
 unarmed. Here, having taken his seat he said, "Sure-
 " ly I am the most unhappy of fathers, sitting here as
 " judge, between my two sons, on a charge of fratri-
 " cide, made by one of them against the other; so
 " that I must find, in my nearest relations, the foul
 " stain either of falsehood, or of wicked violence.
 " This long time, indeed, I have apprehended this
 " storm as impending, from your countenances,
 " which, I have observed, shewed no sign of brotherly
 " affection to each other; and from some expressions,
 " which I have over-heard. But I, sometimes, che-
 " rished the hope that the heat of your resentment
 " would cool, and that your suspicions might be
 " cleared up; for I considered, that even enemies
 " lay down their arms and become friends; that pri-
 " vate quarrels are oftentimes made up; and I trusted
 " that you would, some time or other, recall the me-
 " mory of your fraternal relation to each other, of the
 " open freedom and intimacy that subsisted between
 " you in your boyish days, and, finally, of my instruc-
 " tions, which, I fear, I have fruitlessly poured into

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Y. R. 570.

B. C. 182.

“ deaf ears. How often have I, in your hearing,
 “ mentioned, with abhorrence, examples of discord
 “ between brothers, and recounted the dreadful con-
 “ sequences of them, by which they themselves, their
 “ offspring, their houses, and their kingdoms, have
 “ been utterly ruined. I have represented, on the
 “ other hand, more laudable examples, the social
 “ co-partnership between the two kings of the La-
 “ cedæmonians, beneficial to themselves and to their
 “ country, for many ages; and the same state, when
 “ the custom was introduced, of every one forcibly
 “ seizing arbitrary power into his own hands, quite
 “ overturned. Then, the present brothers, Eu-
 “ menes and Attalus, who, from circumstances so
 “ low, that they were almost ashamed of the title of
 “ king, have raised their dominions to an equality
 “ with mine, or with those of Antiochus, or any king
 “ of this age, by no other means, so much, as by
 “ brotherly concord. Nor did I decline shewing
 “ you examples even from among the Romans;
 “ some that had fallen under my own observation,
 “ others that I had heard: as Titus and Lucius
 “ Quintius, who carried on the war with me; the
 “ two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who van-
 “ quished Antiochus; and their father and uncle,
 “ whose concord, maintained through life, was not
 “ broken, even by death. But neither could the
 “ wickedness of the former, attended by a suita-
 “ ble issue, deter you from your foolish quarrels;
 “ nor could the sound judgement and good fortune
 “ of the latter, bend you to wisdom. While I
 “ am alive, and in health, you have, both of you, in
 “ your hopes and wishes, laid hold on the succession.
 “ You wish me to live, just so long, as that, surviv-
 “ ing one, I should, by my death, make the other
 “ king, without a competitor. You cannot endure
 “ to have either brother, or father. You have no
 “ sense of affection, or duty; your insatiable passion
 “ for rule, alone, has taken up the place of all other
 “ feelings.

" feelings. Come, then, contaminate your father's
 " ears, contend with mutual accusations, as you soon
 " will with the sword; speak out, whatever you can
 " with truth, or whatever you may choose to invent.
 " My ears are now open; but, henceforward, will
 " be shut against all secret charges of one against the
 " other." On his uttering these words, with furious
 passion, every one present burst into tears, and, for a
 long time, kept a sorrowful silence.

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XL.

Y. R. 370.

B. C. 123.

IX. At length Perseus spoke to this effect: " I
 " ought, then, it seems, to have opened my gate, in
 " the night, to have admitted those armed revellers,
 " and held out my throat to their swords; since
 " nothing less than the perpetration of the deed, can
 " gain belief, and since I, against whom a murderous
 " plot was levelled, am accosted in the same language
 " as if I were a robber and an assassin. It is not
 " without reason, that people say that you have but
 " one son; Demetrius, and that I am supposititious,
 " and born of a concubine; for if I held, in your
 " breast, the rank of a son, or the affection due to
 " one, you would wreak your anger, not on me,
 " who, on detecting a plot against my life, make my
 " complaint, but on him who was the author of it:
 " nor would my life be so cheap in your eyes, as
 " that you should neither be moved by the danger
 " which I have already undergone, nor by that to
 " which I must be exposed, in future, if the assassins
 " are permitted to go unpunished. If therefore it
 " be our doom, to die in silence, let us hold our
 " peace, and only pray the gods, that the wicked
 " design, aimed at me, may end with me; and that
 " you be not wounded through my sides. But if,
 " as nature itself dictates to people, encompassed
 " with danger in a desert place, to implore aid from
 " men whom they had never seen, so I, on seeing a
 " sword drawn against me, may be allowed to raise
 " my voice, I beseech you, by your own person, by

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XL.

Y. R. 570.

B. C. 182.

" the name of father, and you long know which of
 " us reveres that title most, that you may hear me.
 " in the same manner, as you would, if, roused by
 " calls and outcries in the night, you had come up,
 " when I was crying for help, and in the dead of
 " night had found Demetrius, with armed men, in
 " the porch of my house. What I should, in that
 " case, have exclaimed, with terror, in the midst of
 " the transaction, I now, next day, lay before you in
 " form of a complaint. Brother; it is long since
 " you and I lived together, on the terms of mutual
 " hospitality; your chief wish is to be king; your
 " hopes, on that head, meet obstacles in my age,
 " in the law of nations, in the antient practice of
 " Macedonia, as well as in my father's judgment.
 " These you can surmount, by no other means, than
 " by shedding my blood. To this end, you leave
 " no scheme or effort untried. Hitherto, either my
 " care, or fortune, has prevented your intended
 " murder. Yesterday, on occasion of the purifica-
 " tion, the military exercise, and mock representation
 " of a fight, you brought on almost a bloody battle;
 " nor was I saved from death, by any other means,
 " than by suffering myself and my party to be over-
 " come. After a hostile fight, pretending brotherly
 " sport, you wanted to drag me to your house to
 " supper. Father, can you suppose I should have
 " met there, at supper, unarmed guests, when they
 " came, in arms, to my house to drink with me.
 " Do you think there would have been no danger,
 " in the night, from their swords, when, before your
 " eyes, they were near killing me with foils? Why
 " did you come at that time of night; why, an
 " enemy, come to a person provoked; why with
 " young men in arms? I did not dare to trust my-
 " self with you, as a guest, and shall I admit you to
 " drink with me, when you come surrounded with
 " armed men? Father, if the gate had been open,
 " you would, at this moment, be preparing my
 " funeral,

" funeral, instead of hearing my complaint. I do
 " not, as an accuser, here before you, urge any thing
 " for the purpose of aggravation; neither do I put
 " together doubtful circumstances, in a train of
 " artful arguments. For what can he say? Does he
 " deny that he came to my gate, with a large party;
 " or that there were armed men with him? Send
 " for the persons; I will name them. I know that
 " they, who dared to make this attempt, dare to do
 " any thing; nevertheless, they will not dare to
 " deny what I say. If I brought before you persons
 " caught within my doors, in arms, you would con-
 " sider this as full proof; and you ought to consider
 " persons confessing, in the same light, as if actually
 " caught in the fact.

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XL.

V. R. 570.

B. C. 184.

X. " Now, curse ambition for rule, and call up
 " the furies, the avengers of the wrongs of brothers:
 " but, father, let not your curses be indiscriminating.
 " Examine, and distinguish, between the plotter,
 " and the person plotted against, and pour them on
 " the guilty head. Let him, who intended to kill a
 " brother, feel the wrath of the gods, and of his
 " father also; and let him, who was to have perished
 " by a brother's wickedness, find refuge in his fa-
 " ther's compassion and justice. For where else
 " shall I seek refuge, who cannot find safety in the
 " solemn purification of your army, in the exercise
 " of the troops, in my own house, in a feast, nor in
 " the night, which nature's bounty granted to man-
 " kind for a season of repose. If I go to my
 " brother, according to his invitation, I must die.
 " If I admit my brother to a party of pleasure
 " within my own gates, I must die. Neither by
 " going, nor by staying, can I escape treacherous
 " plots. Whither then shall I betake me? Father,
 " your favour only have I ever courted, and that of
 " the gods. I have not the Romans to fly to.
 " They wish my destruction, because I grieve at
 " the

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“ the injuries which they have done to you; because
 “ I resent your being deprived of so many cities, so
 “ many nations, and, but the other day, of the coast
 “ of Thrace. They have no hope that Macedonia
 “ will ever be their property, while either you, or
 “ I, are safe. But, if I should be taken off, by the
 “ wickedness of my brother, and you by old age;
 “ or if even this should not be waited for, they
 “ know, that both the king and kingdom of Mace-
 “ donia will become theirs. If the Romans had
 “ left you any thing, beyond the limits of Mace-
 “ donia, I would suppose that I might there find
 “ shelter. But I have protection enough in the
 “ Macedonians. You were an eye witness, yesterday,
 “ of the attack made on me, by the soldiers. What
 “ did they want, but pointed weapons, to compleat
 “ the business. And what they wanted, in the day,
 “ my brother's guests took to themselves in the
 “ night. Why need I mention the greater part of
 “ the nobles, who have placed all their hopes of
 “ wealth and preferment in the Romans; and in him,
 “ who can do every thing with the Romans? Nor,
 “ in truth, do they prefer him, merely, to me, his
 “ elder brother, but, in some measure, to you your-
 “ self, his king and father. For he is the person,
 “ out of regard to whom the senate remitted to you
 “ the intended punishment; who now screens you
 “ from the Roman arms; who thinks it fit, that
 “ your advanced age should be under obligation to,
 “ and under control of, his youth. He is supported
 “ by the Romans, by all the cities liberated from
 “ your jurisdiction, by the Macedonians who are
 “ pleased at the peace with Rome. For me, where
 “ is there either hope or support of any kind, except
 “ in you, my father?

XI. “ WHAT do you suppose to be the intention
 “ of the letter, sent to you, lately, by Titus Quintius,
 “ in which he not only says, that you acted wisely
 “ for

" for your own interest in sending Demetrius to
 " Rome; but, also, advises you to send him back
 " again, with a greater number of ambassadors, and
 " even the first men of Macedonia? Titus Quintius
 " is now his counsellor, and master, in every thing.
 " You, his father, he has renounced, and has sub-
 " stituted Quintius in your place. There is the prin-
 " cipal place where their secret plans are digested.
 " When he desires you to send greater numbers,
 " and the chief men of Macedonia, he is seeking
 " assistants in their schemes. For those, who go to
 " Rome, pure and uncorrupt, and satisfied that you
 " are really their king, return thence, tainted and
 " infected by Roman poisons. Demetrius alone is
 " every thing with them. They give him the title
 " of king, even in his father's life time. If I ex-
 " press my indignation at these things, I am charged
 " with being ambitious for rule; not only by others,
 " but, father, even by you. But this charge, if
 " made against both, I do not admit; for whom
 " do I disturb from his place, that I may succeed
 " in his room? My father, alone, is before me;
 " and that he may long be so, I beseech the gods.
 " If I survive him, and so may I survive him, as I
 " shall deserve that himself may wish it, I shall
 " receive the crown by inheritance, if my father
 " devises it to me. He covets rule, and covets it
 " with criminal passion, who hastily over-leaps the
 " order of age, of nature, of the Macedonian cus-
 " toms, and of the laws of nations. An elder bro-
 " ther stands in his way; to whom, by right, and by
 " the choice of his father, the succession belongs.
 " Let us put him out of the way. I shall not be
 " the first, that acquired a kingdom by killing a
 " brother. My father, being old, and left alone by
 " his son's death, will rather fear for himself, than
 " revenge the death of his son. The Romans will
 " rejoice, they will approve, they will support the
 " act. Father, these prospects are uncertain, but
 " they

BOOK

XL.

Y. R. 579.

B. C. 182.

BOOK XL. " they are not without grounds. For the matter
 Y.R. 570. " stands thus : it is in your power to ward off danger
 D.C. 182. " from my life, by punishing those who took arms
 " to kill me ; but, should their villainy succeed, it
 " will not then be in your power, to take vengeance
 " for my death."

XII. WHEN Perseus ceased speaking, the eyes of all present were turned on Demetrius, as they expected from him an immediate reply : but he kept silence, for a long time. It was evident to all, that, drowned as he was in tears, he had not power to utter a word ; but, at last, the necessity that called on him to speak, overcame his grief, and he expressed himself thus : " Father, all the aids, of which persons accused could heretofore have availed themselves, my brother has taken from me, and converted to his own purpose. By his tears, counterfeited for the purpose of working another's ruin, he has caused my real tears to be suspected by you. Although, ever since my return from Rome, he has employed himself, night and day, in plotting my destruction, and holding, for that end, secret consultations with his confederates, yet he now represents me, in the character, not only of a conspirator, but of an open assassin and murderer. He terrifies you with his danger, in order to halten through your means the ruin of an innocent brother. He asserts, that he has no place of refuge in the world, in order to cut off any remains of hope, which I might have, even in you. Circumvented, unsupported, and helpless as I am, he loads me with injurious imputations, respecting interell with foreigners, which, instead of proving useful, is detrimental to me. Then, with what unfair artifice, does he act, in blending the charge of last night, with invectives against the rest of my conduct ; with design, on the one hand, by his representation of the tenour of my behaviour, in
 " Other

other particulars, to throw a colour of guilt on
 the former, the true nature of which you shall
 soon understand; and, on the other hand, to sup-
 port the other groundless insinuations, respecting
 my views, wishes, and designs, by this fictitious
 fabricated story, of what passed in the night. He
 had, at the same time, a farther design, that his
 accusation might appear to be sudden and un-
 premeditated, as if occasioned by the sudden fright,
 and disturbance, of last night. But, Perseus, if I
 were a traitor against my father and his govern-
 ment; if I had formed connections with the Ro-
 mans, or with others, enemies of my father, the
 tale of last night ought not to have been waited
 for; I ought to have been long ago brought to
 answer for my treason. And if the other charge,
 separated from this, were unfounded, and tended
 to discover your ill-will towards me, rather than
 my guilt, it ought, on the present day also, to be
 either omitted, or postponed to another time; in
 order that it might clearly appear, whether I plot-
 ted against you, or you, with indeed a strange and
 singular kind of hatred, against me. However,
 I will, as well as I am able, in my present unfor-
 seen perturbation of mind, distinguish those mat-
 ters, which you have confounded; and I will un-
 veil the plot of last night whether mine or yours.
 He wishes it to be believed, that I had formed a
 design to take his life, with the view, it seems,
 that, having removed the elder brother, to whom
 by the law of nations, by the custom of Mace-
 donia, and likewise, by your judgment, as he says,
 the kingdom was to devolve, I, the younger,
 should succeed, in the room of him whom I had
 slain. What then can be the meaning of that
 other part of his speech, where he says, that I
 courted the favour of the Romans; and, from my
 reliance on them, conceived hopes of the crown?
 For, if I believed that the Romans possessed such
 influence,

BOOK

XL.

Y. R. 570.

B. C. 582.

“ influence, that they could impose on Macedonia
 “ whatever king they pleased, and if I had such
 “ confidence in my interest with them, what need
 “ was there of fratricide? Could it be my wish to
 “ wear a diadem, stained with a brother’s blood, or
 “ to become odious and execrable, in the eyes of
 “ those very people, with whom, whatever share of
 “ interest, I might happen to have, was procured
 “ by either real, or, at least, affected, integrity of
 “ conduct? Unless you believe that Titus Quintus,
 “ by whose counsels and advice you alledge I am
 “ at present governed, though he lives on a footing
 “ of such cordial affection with his own brother,
 “ would recommend to me to murder mine. He
 “ has assembled together, not only the favour of the
 “ Romans, but the opinions of the Macedonians,
 “ and the concurring sentiments, almost, of all the
 “ gods, and all mankind, by reason of all which he
 “ cannot believe that he would prove a match for
 “ me in the competition. Yet the same man ac-
 “ cuses me, of having, as sensible of my inferiority
 “ to him in all other modes of proceeding, had re-
 “ course to an act of wickedness as my only re-
 “ source. Are you satisfied, that the decision be-
 “ tween us shall be made on this principle, that
 “ which-ever of us feared lest the other should
 “ seem more worthy of the throne, shall be
 “ deemed guilty of designing his brother’s de-
 “ struction?

XIII. “ BUT, let us examine the process of this
 “ accusation, in whatever manner it has been fabri-
 “ cated. He has arraigned me, of attempting his
 “ life, in several different methods; and all these
 “ modes of attack he has brought within the com-
 “ pass of one day. I intended to kill him, in the
 “ middle of the day, after the purification, when we
 “ had the engagement; and, of all other days, on
 “ that of the purification. I intended, when I in-
 “ vited

"vited him to supper, to take him off by poison. I
 "intended, when some persons, armed with swords,
 "followed me to join his party in their convivial-
 "ty, to kill him with the sword. You see what
 "sort of opportunities were chosen for this murder;
 "those of sport, feasting, and revelling, and on what
 "days, or, on what sort of a day? On the day, in
 "which the army was purified; in which, after the
 "royal armour of all the former kings of Macedo-
 "nia was carried in procession between the divided
 "parts of the victim, he and I, only, rode along
 "with you, father, at your sides, and the body of
 "the Macedonian troops followed. Now, even
 "supposing that I had formerly been guilty of some
 "crime which required expiation, could I, after
 "being purified and expiated, in this sacred solemn-
 "nity, at the very time when I was looking at the
 "victim laid on each side of our road, revolve in
 "my mind fratricide, poisons, and swords prepared
 "against the feast? With what other sacred rites
 "could I afterwards expiate the guilt of a mind,
 "thus contaminated with every kind of villainy?
 "But his understanding is so blinded by his eager-
 "ness to turn every thing into a crime, that he con-
 "founds one thing with another. For, if I intended
 "to take you off by poison, at supper, what could
 "be more incongruous with my design, than to
 "provoke you to anger by an obstinate contest and
 "fight? Ought I to have given you reason to re-
 "fuse, as you did, my invitation to supper? But
 "when, in your anger, you had refused, whether
 "ought I to have taken pains to pacify you, that
 "I might find another opportunity, since I had got
 "the poison ready, or to fly off at once to another
 "plan of killing you with the sword, and on that
 "same day, under pretence of feasting with you?
 "If I thought that you declined supping with me,
 "through fear for your life, how could I suppose
 "that

BOOK " that you would not, through the same fear, have
 XL. " declined admitting me to drink with you?

Y. R. 570.

E. C. 182.

XIV. " FATHER, I have no cause to blush, that,
 " on a festival day, among companions of my own
 " age, I should have indulged too freely in wine;
 " and I wish you would inquire what cheerfulness
 " and mirth prevailed, in yesterday's feast, at my
 " house, heightened too by our joy, perhaps a
 " blameable one, for our party not having been
 " worsted in the fight. My present misfortune, and
 " my fears, have effectually dissipated the fumes of
 " the liquor; but, if these had not intervened, we,
 " the conspirators, would have been now lying fast
 " asleep. If I designed to storm your house, and,
 " after taking it, to kill the owner, ought I not to
 " have refrained from wine, for that one day, and to
 " have kept my soldiers sober? That I should not
 " be the only one, to defend my cause with exces-
 " sive candour, my brother himself, not in the least
 " inclined to malice, or suspicion, says, I know no-
 " thing more, I charge nothing more, than that they
 " came in arms to drink with me. If I should ask,
 " how do you know that circumstance? you must,
 " necessarily, acknowledge, either that my house
 " was full of your spies; or, that they took arms, so
 " openly, as that every one could see. Then, lest
 " he should seem to have made any previous in-
 " quiry, or to argue, now, with an intention to ag-
 " gravate guilt, he desires you to inquire from the
 " persons, whom he would name, whether they had
 " carried swords, in order that, on your inquiring,
 " as in a doubtful case, respecting a fact which they
 " themselves confess, they might be deemed con-
 " victed. Why do you not rather desire inquiry to
 " be made, whether they carried swords, for the
 " purpose of killing you? whether, with my di-
 " rections and knowledge? for this is what you wish
 " to be believed, and not what they confess, and
 " what

" what is, indeed, notorious, that they carried them BOOK
 " for the purpose of defending themselves. Whether XL.
 " they acted right or wrong, let them account for Y. R. 570.
 " their own conduct. My cause, which is in no way B. C. 182.
 " affected by this act, you ought not to have blend-
 " ed with it; or you ought to have explained,
 " whether we intended to attack you, openly, or se-
 " cretly. If openly, why did we not all carry swords?
 " Why did none of us, but those who beat your
 " spy? If privately, what was the plan of our plot?
 " Were four to stay behind, when the banquet
 " broke up, and I, your guest, had departed, in or-
 " der to fall on you in your sleep? How would
 " they have escaped detection, as being strangers,
 " and belonging to me; and, above all, being liable
 " to suspicion, on account of their having been in a
 " quarrel a little before? And how were they to
 " escape after having killed you? Was your house
 " so weakly defended, as that it could be taken and
 " stormed with four swords?

XV. " Drop, then, that fable of last night; and
 " recur to what really grieves you, what kindles
 " your envy. Why, Demetrius, is mention made
 " any where of your mounting the throne? Why
 " do you appear, to some, more worthy to succeed
 " to your father's dignity than I? Why do you
 " disturb, with doubt and anxiety, my hopes which
 " would be certain if you were not in being? These
 " are the thoughts of Perseus, though he does not
 " express them; these make him my enemy, these
 " my accuser; these fill your house, these fill your
 " kingdom with accusations and suspicions. But,
 " father, as I ought not now to hope for the crown,
 " or perhaps ever to think of a competition for it,
 " being, as I am, the younger brother, and it being
 " your will that I should yield to the elder; so
 " neither ought I, at any former time, or at the
 " present, to act in such a manner, as to appear un-
 " VOL. V. E E "deserving

BOOK

XL.

Y. R. 370.

B. C. 184.

“deserving of having you for my father, and of all
 “the other blessings of my life. That would be the
 “consequence of vicious conduct in me, not of
 “moderation, and of yielding to him, to whom the
 “laws, divine and human, order me to give place.
 “You upbraid me with the Romans; and, what
 “ought to be deemed an honour, you turn into a
 “crime. It was not at my request, that I was
 “either delivered a hostage to the Romans, or sent
 “ambassador to Rome. Being sent by you, I did
 “not refuse to go. On both occasions, I conducted
 “myself in such a manner, as to be no disgrace to
 “you, to your kingdom, or to the Macedonian na-
 “tion. You, therefore, father, have been the cause
 “of my friendship with the Romans. As long as
 “peace shall subsist between you and them, so long
 “will I also continue in friendship with them; but,
 “if war should arise, I, who have been there a
 “hostage, and no unprofitable ambassador in my
 “father’s behalf, will be their most determined
 “enemy. Nor do I, this day, require, that the fa-
 “vour of the Romans should be any advantage to
 “me; I only deprecate its being made detrimental.
 “It neither commenced in war, nor is it meant to
 “subsist in war. I was a pledge of peace; and, to
 “procure a continuance of peace, I was sent am-
 “bassador. Let neither be esteemed an honour, or
 “a crime. Father, if I have been guilty of any
 “undutiful behaviour towards you, or any criminal
 “behaviour towards my brother, there is no pu-
 “nishment to which I will not submit without mur-
 “muring. If I am innocent, let me not, I beseech
 “you, be destroyed by envy, since I cannot by a
 “fair accusation. My brother’s accusation, this
 “day, is not the first that he has brought against
 “me; but it is the first made openly, and is entirely
 “undeserved by me. If my father were angry with
 “me, it would become you, the elder brother, to
 “intercede for the younger, to obtain pardon for
 “my

“ my youth, and for my error; but, in the very
 “ person, from whom I ought to receive protection,
 “ in him, I meet my ruin. From a feast, and in-
 “ temperate drinking, I have been hurried, almost
 “ half asleep, to defend myself against a charge of
 “ fratricide. Without advocates, without patrons,
 “ I am compelled to plead my own cause. If I
 “ were to plead for another, I would have taken
 “ time to study and compose my discourse; though,
 “ in that case, I should run no other hazard, than
 “ that of my reputation for abilities. But, before I
 “ knew the reason of my being summoned hither, I
 “ heard, you in a paroxysm of passion, ordering me to
 “ account for my conduct, and my brother accusing
 “ me. He employed, against me, a speech, long
 “ before prepared and studied; while I had no
 “ longer time for learning the nature of the case,
 “ than while the charges against me were recited.
 “ During that short space, whether should I listen
 “ to my accuser, or study a defence? Thunder-
 “ struck by the sudden and unthought-of calamity,
 “ I was scarcely capable of understanding what was
 “ alledged against me, much less of settling prop-
 “ ly, in my mind, what defence I should make.
 “ What hope, indeed, could I have, if my judge
 “ were not my father; with whom, though my el-
 “ der brother has the advantage of a larger share in
 “ his affection, yet surely, standing thus accused,
 “ I ought not to meet a less share of compassion.
 “ For my prayer is, that you would save me, for my
 “ sake, and for your own; he demands, that, for
 “ his security, you should put me to death. In what
 “ manner, do you think, will he act, when you shall
 “ deliver the kingdom into his hands, who, even
 “ now, thinks it reasonable that he should be grati-
 “ fied with my blood?” While he was proceeding
 in this manner, a flood of tears took away his breath,
 and stopped his voice. Philip ordered them both
 to withdraw; and, after conferring a short time with

his

BOOK his friends, declared, that " he could not, from
 XL. " words, or from a single hour's discussion, form a
 Y. R. 570. " definitive judgment on the cause between them;
 B. C. 182. " but, from a scrutiny into the conduct and man-
 " ners of both, and a close observation of their
 " words and actions, on all occasions, great and
 " small." From which it appeared clearly to every
 one, that the charge relating to the preceding night,
 was effectually refuted; but that Demetrius was
 viewed with jealousy, as too closely connected with
 the Romans. Such were the seeds of a Macedonian
 war, which were sowed during the life-time of
 Philip, though they did not ripen into effect until
 the government fell into the hands of Perseus,
 with whom it was waged.

XVI. BOTH the consuls went into Liguria, at that
 time, the only consular province. Their successes
 there occasioned a supplication of one day to be de-
 creed. About two thousand of the Ligurians came
 to the extreme borders of the Gallic province, where
 Marcellus lay encamped, and requested him to re-
 ceive their submission. Marcellus ordered them to
 wait where they were, and sent a letter to the senate,
 desiring to know their pleasure. The senate order-
 ed Marcus Ogulnius, prætor, to write back to Mar-
 cellus, that " it would have been more proper for
 " the consuls, whose province that was, than for
 " them, to have determined what, in this case, was
 " for the public advantage. That, however, as the
 " matter stood, it was their opinion, that the sub-
 " mission of the Ligurians should be received; that
 " their arms should be taken from them, and that they
 " should be sent to the consuls." The prætors ar-
 rived, at the same time, in Spain; Publius Manlius,
 in the farther province, which he had governed in his
 former prætorship, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in
 the hither one, where he received the command of
 the army from Terentius; for the farther, by the
 death

death of the proprætor, Publius Sempronius, had been left without a governor. While Fulvius Flaccus was besieging a town of the Spaniards, called Urbicua, he was attacked by the Celtiberians. Many severe actions were fought on the occasion, and many of the Roman soldiers killed and wounded. Nothing, however, could prevail on Fulvius to raise the siege; and, by perseverance, he carried his point. The Celtiberians, wearied out with so many battles, retired; and the city, having lost their assistance, was, within a few days after, taken and sacked, when the prætor bestowed the booty on the soldiers. Fulvius, after reducing this town, sent his troops into winter quarters, and Publius Manlius did the same, without having performed any thing worth mention; for, all that he did was, to collect, into one body, the troops which had been scattered in various places. Such were the transactions of that summer in Spain. Terentius, who had come home from that province, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds weight of silver, eighty pounds weight of gold, and two golden crowns of the weight of sixty-seven pounds.

BOOK

XL.

Y. R. 570.

B. C. 182.

XVII. THIS year the Romans were arbitrators in a dispute, subsisting between the people of Carthage and king Masinissa, about a tract of ground. This ground, Gala, father of Masinissa, had taken from the Carthaginians. Syphax had expelled Gala, and, afterwards, from respect to his father-in-law, Hasdrubal, had made a present of it to the Carthaginians. In the present year, Masinissa had expelled the Carthaginians. This matter was debated before the Roman deputies, with no less violent heat than had animated the parties when engaged in the field. The Carthaginians reclaimed the ground, first, as having been the property of their ancestors; and next, on the title which they had derived from Syphax. Ma-

sinissa

BOOK XL. *finiffa* urged, that “ he had retaken possession of it
 Y. R. 570. “ as part of his father’s kingdom, and held it under
 B. C. 182. “ the law of nations; and that he had the advantage,
 “ both in the merits of his cause, and in the present
 “ possession. That, in this discussion, he had no
 “ other fear, than lest the modesty of the Romans
 “ might operate to his loss, making them dread the
 “ appearance of any partiality to a king who was
 “ their friend and ally, in prejudice to the common
 “ enemy of him and them.” The deputies did not
 alter the right of possession, but remitted the cause en-
 tire to the senate at Rome. There was nothing
 done, afterwards, in Liguria. The inhabitants, at
 first, retired into remote forests; and, afterwards,
 disbanding their army, separated, and went off to
 their several forts and villages. The consuls, too,
 wished to disband their forces, and wrote to the se-
 nate for orders; but the senate directed, that one of
 them should discharge his troops, and come to Rome
 to elect magistrates for the year; and that the other,
 with his legions, should pass the winter at Pisa. A
 report prevailed, that the transalpine Gauls were
 arming their young men, and it was not known, on
 what quarter of Italy, that multitude would pour it-
 self. The consuls settled the matter between them,
 that Cneius Bæbius should go home to the elections,
 his brother, Marcus Bæbius, being a candidate for
 the consulship.

Y. R. 571. XVIII. THE assembly for the election of consuls
 B. C. 181. was then held, and Publius Cornelius Cethegus, and
 Marcus Bæbius Tampilus, were chosen. The
 prætors afterwards elected were, Quintus Fabius
 Maximus, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Caius Claudius
 Nero, Quintus Petillius Spurius, Marcus Pinarius
 Posca, and Lucius Duronius. When the magistrates
 entered into office, the lots disposed of the provinces
 thus: to the consuls, Liguria; to Quintus Petillius,
 the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Fabius Maximus,
 the

the foreign; to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Gaul; to Caius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Marcus Pinarius, Sardinia; and to Lucius Durrorius, Apulia, to which was annexed Istria, information being received, from Tarentum and Brundisium, that the country on the sea-coasts was infested by foreign pirates. The Massilians made the same complaint, with regard to the ships of the Ligurians. The armies were then voted to the consuls, four Roman legions, each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and, of the allies and Latines, fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. In the two Spains, the old prætors were continued in command, with the armies which they then had; and an augmentation was voted for them, amounting to three thousand Roman foot, with two hundred horse, and six thousand foot and three hundred horse, of the Latine confederates. Nor was the business of the fleet neglected. The consuls were ordered to constitute *duumvirs* for conducting it; and these were to man twenty ships, which they launched, with Roman citizens, who had been in servitude, only taking care that the officers should be men of free birth. The *duumvirs*, each at the head of ten ships, took separate parts of the sea coast under their protection, so that the promontory of Minerva formed the point of division between them; one was to defend the part on the right, as far as Marseilles; the other, that on the left, to the town of Barium.

BOOK
XL.Y. R. 571.
B. C. 181.

XIX. MANY alarming prodigies were seen at Rome, this year, and others reported from abroad. A shower of blood fell in the courts of the temples of Vulcan and Concord, and the priests reported that spears moved in the hands of the statues, and that the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium shed tears. There was a pestilence in the country, in the market towns and villages; and so violent was it, in the city, that people could scarcely be found to bury the dead.

BOOK These prodigies, and the mortality, alarmed the senate so much, that they ordered the consuls to sacrifice to such gods, as their judgment should direct, victims of the larger kinds, and that the decemvirs should consult the books. Pursuant to their direction, a supplication for one day was proclaimed, to be performed at every shrine in Rome; and they advised, besides, and the senate voted, and the consuls proclaimed, that there should be a supplication, and public worship, for three days, throughout all Italy. The pestilence raged with so great fury, that when, in consequence of the revolt of the Corsicans, and a war raised in Sardinia, by the Ibians, an order was passed for raising, from among the Latines, eight thousand foot and three hundred horse, to be carried into Sardinia, with Pinarius the prætor, the consuls returned a representation, that so great a number of men had died, and so many were sick, in every place, that such a body of soldiers could not be made up. On this, the prætor was ordered to take from Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, who was in winter quarters at Pise, as many soldiers as would fill up the deficiency, and then to sail to Sardinia. Lucius Duronius, the prætor, to whose lot Apulia had fallen, received also a charge to make inquiry concerning the Bacchanalians; for some remaining seeds of the evils, formerly excited by those people, had shewn themselves there the year before. At the inquiries, though commenced under the prætor, Lucius Pupius, had yet been brought to no issue, and the senate ordered the new prætor to cut up that evil by the roots, so that it should never again spread wider. The consuls, also, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people certain laws concerning canvassing for elections.

XX. THEY next introduced the embassies to audience. And first, those of the kings Eumenes and Ariarathes, the Cappadocian; and Pharnaces, of Pontus.

Pontus. No farther answer was given to these, than that the senate would send persons to examine, and decide, their disputes. Then were introduced ambassadors from the Lacedæmonian exiles, and from the Achæans, and hopes were given to the exiles, that the senate would write to the Achæans, to procure their restoration. The Achæans gave an account, to the satisfaction of the senate, of the recovery of Messene, and the settlement of affairs there. From Philip, also, king of Macedonia, came two ambassadors, Philocles and Apelles; not for the purpose of soliciting any business with the senate, but rather to pry into and inquire concerning the correspondence with the Romans, of which Perseus had accused Demetrius, and, particularly, into that with Titus Quintius; concerning the kingdom, to the prejudice of his brother. The king had employed these men, believing them unprejudiced, and not biassed in favour of either party; but they were accomplices and agents of Perseus, in his treacherous designs against his brother. Demetrius, ignorant of all, except the villainous scheme of his brother, which had lately broke out, at first, neither utterly despaired, nor yet entertained much hope, of effecting a reconciliation with his father; but, afterwards, he trusted less and less, every day, to his father's affection, having observed that he was closely beset by his brother. Wherefore, not to increase the suspicions he laboured under, he used extreme circumspection, in all his words and actions, and carefully avoided all mention of, and communication with, the Romans; refraining even from receiving letters from them, as he knew that charges, of this nature, exasperated his father more than any thing else.

XXI. PHILIP, in order to prevent his troops from being enervated by inactivity, and, at the same time, to avert all suspicion of his harbouring any design of a war with Rome, ordered his army to assemble

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assemble at Stobi, in Pæonia; and thence he led it on into Mædica. He had been seized with an earnest desire of going up to the summit of mount Hemus, for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontick and Adriatick seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that the having a view of all those places, immediately before his eyes, would be of no small consequence towards forming his plans of a war with Rome. On inquiry, from people acquainted with the country, respecting the ascent of Hemus, he was told that there was no way, by which an army could go up; but that a small party, lightly accoutred, might, though with great difficulty, climb to the top. Then, wishing to soothe, with familiar discourse, his younger son, whom he had determined not to take with him, he, first, asked his opinion, "whether, as the difficulty of the journey was represented to be so great, he ought to persist in his design, or give it up?" Then he said, that, "if he should resolve to proceed, he could not forget the caution of Antigonus, respecting undertakings of that kind; who, having all his family on board the same ship with him, and being tossed about by a violent storm, was said to have advised his sons, to remember, and hand down to their children, this maxim: never, in cases of danger, to hazard themselves, and their whole family together. He would therefore attend to this warning, and not expose his two sons at once to the hazard of those dangers, which were represented to lie in his way; and as he meant to take his elder son with him, he would send back the younger into Mædonia, as a reserve to his hopes, and a guardian to the kingdom." Demetrius perceived clearly that he was sent out of the way, that he might not be present at their deliberations, when, with those places in their view, they should consult which were the shortest roads to the Adriatic sea and to Italy, and

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OF ROME.

what was the general plan to be pursued in the war; but he was obliged, not only, to obey his father, on the occasion, but to express his approbation of the measure, lest a reluctant obedience might beget suspicion. However, to secure his safety on the road to Macedonia, Didas, one of the king's general officers, and governor of Pæonia, was ordered to escort him with a small party of men. This man had united with Perseus, in the conspiracy to ruin his brother, as had likewise most of his father's friends, as soon as they discovered plainly, from the bent of the king's inclination, which of the two was to inherit the throne; and Perseus charged him, on this occasion, to insinuate himself by every kind of obsequiousness into the most familiar communication with him, that he might be able to draw from him all his secrets, and to pry into his hidden thoughts. Demetrius, therefore, set out with a guard, which exposed him to greater dangers than he would have had to encounter if he had gone alone.

XXII. PHILIP marched first across Mædica, then across the deserts, that lie between Mædica and Hemus; and, at length, on the evening of the seventh day, he reached the foot of the mountain. There he halted one day, to make choice of those who were to accompany him, and, on the next proceeded on his journey. At first, while they ascended the lower parts of the hills, the fatigue was moderate; but, as they advanced upwards, they found the ground more thickly covered with woods, and in many places impassable. They then came to a part where the way was so shaded by the thickness of the trees, and the branches so interwoven with each other, that they could hardly see the sky; but, when they came near the top, what is rarely seen in other places, the whole tract was covered with so thick a fog, as rendered their advancing no less difficult, than if it had been in the night. At last, on the third day, they arrived

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at the summit. On their coming down thence, they said nothing to discountenance the vulgar opinion, being unwilling, I suppose, to expose the folly of the journey to ridicule, and not because it was possible to see from one spot those seas, and mountains, and rivers, so widely distant from each other. They were all greatly fatigued by the difficulty of the way; and chiefly the king himself, whose great age rendered him less qualified for active exertions. After sacrificing to Jupiter and the sun, on two altars which he consecrated there, he descended in two days, though the ascent had cost him three; for he was particularly afraid of the cold of the nights, which, though the Dog Star was now risen, was as intense as the cold of winter. After struggling with numerous hardships, during those days, he found his camp in a condition not more pleasing, for as it lay in a country, inclosed on all sides by deserts, it laboured under extreme want of every thing. He halted therefore but one day, to refresh those who had attended him, and then hastened away into the country of the Dentheletians, with all the precipitation of flight. These were allies, but the Macedonians, to supply their own necessities, plundered their country, as if it belonged to an enemy; for they first pillaged the country houses, and afterwards plundered several villages, overwhelming the king with shame, when he heard the cries of his allies, calling, in vain, on the Gods who witnessed their league, and on himself, by name. Having carried off corn from hence, he marched back into Mædica, and laid siege to a town called Petra. He pitched his own camp in a plain, at one side, and sent round his son Perseus with a small party, to attack the city, from higher ground. The townsmen, pressed by danger on all sides, gave hostages, and, for the present, surrendered themselves; but, as soon as the army retired, regardless of the hostages, they deserted the city, and fled into fastnesses and mountains. Philip returned

to

to Macedonia, having exhausted his troops, by every kind of fatigue, without effecting any purpose, and with his suspicions of his son, augmented, through the treachery of the governor Didas.

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XXIII. THIS man being sent, as before mentioned, to escort Demetrius, had, by flattering discourses, and even expressing his own indignation at the treatment shewn him, imposed on the open temper of the youth, who was too much off his guard, and justly incensed against his relations; and by a voluntary offer of his assistance in all his measures, and giving a solemn assurance of fidelity, he prevailed on him to disclose his secrets. Demetrius was meditating flight to Rome; and he thought himself indebted to the kindness of the gods for sending him such an assistant, in that design, as the governor of Pæonia, through whose province he supposed he might make his escape with safety. This scheme was immediately betrayed to his brother, and, by his direction, discovered, to his father. The information was conveyed by letter to the king, while he was besieging Petra; and, in consequence of it, Herodotus, who was the most intimate friend of Demetrius, was taken into custody, and an order was given that Demetrius himself should be guarded, without his perceiving it. These occurrences, after what had passed before, made the king return into Macedonia with his heart burthened with grief. He thought the present charges required attention; yet he resolved to wait the return of those, whom he had sent to Rome, to procure intelligence of every particular. After he had passed several months under this uneasiness and anxiety, the ambassadors, who had preconcerted, before they left Macedonia, what information they should bring home from Rome, at last, arrived. Besides other grounds of accusation, they produced to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of Titus Quintius. In this letter

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letter was a kind of interceding apology, that, sup-
 posing the young man, misled by the ambition of
 reigning, had offered some propositions to him, yet
 he was sure that "he would never attempt any thing
 against any of his relations; and that, as for him-
 self, he never could be supposed to recommend
 any undutiful proceedings." This letter was
 deemed a full confirmation of the charges made by
 Perseus; Herodotus was, therefore, immediately
 put to the rack, which he endured a long time, and
 died under the torture, without making any kind of
 discovery.

XXIV. PERSEUS, now, brought before his father
 a second formal accusation against Demetrius. His
 intention of flying through Pæonia was alledged
 against him, and his having bribed certain persons to
 accompany him on the journey; but, what bore
 hardest on him, was, the forged letter of Titus Quint-
 tius. There was yet, however, no severe sentence
 pronounced openly, for they chose rather to take away
 his life by secret means; not out of any regard to
 him, but out of fear, lest the inflicting punishment on
 him might be the means of divulging their designs
 against the Romans. The king himself, having oc-
 casion to go from Thessalonica to Demetrias, sent
 Demetrius, with the same attendant Didas, to As-
 terium in Pæonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to re-
 ceive hostages from the Thracians, and is said, on
 parting with Didas, to have given him directions to
 put his son to death. Didas either intended to per-
 form a sacrifice, or made a pretence of doing so, and
 Demetrius, being invited to be present at the solem-
 nity, came from Asterium to Heraclea. There, as
 we are told, poison was given him at supper. The
 moment he had swallowed the draught, he perceived
 it; and being quickly after seized with violent pains,
 he retired to a chamber, where he continued for some
 time in agony, complaining of the cruelty of his fa-
 ther,

ther, and inveighing against the fratricide of his brother, and the villainy of Didas. Then, one Thyrsis of Stuberæ, and one Alexander of Berceæ, were sent in, who, covering his head and mouth with blankets, suffocated him. In this manner perished that innocent youth, his enemies not even contenting themselves with a common kind of murder.

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XXV. WHILE these matters passed in Macedonia, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, being, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, led his army, early in spring, into the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. He had no sooner pitched his camp in the enemy's territory, than ambassadors came to him, under pretext of suing for peace, but, in reality, as spies. Paullus declared, that he would enter into no treaty of peace, unless they first surrendered: to this they did not object, but said, that it would require time to procure the consent of such a rude kind of people. For that purpose, a suspension of arms, for ten days, was granted; and then, they farther requested, that his men might not go beyond the mountains, nearest to the camp, for wood or forage, for that was the part of their lands which they had under tillage. This being complied with, they collected all their forces behind those mountains, to which they had prevented the enemy from approaching; and, on a sudden, with a vast multitude, assaulted every gate of the Roman camp at once. During that whole day, they prosecuted the attack with such vigour, that the Romans had not time to march out of the camp, nor room to draw out their troops: so that they were obliged to defend their camp, by standing so thick together, in the gates, as to stop the passage, rather than by fighting. The enemy, retiring a little before sunset, the general dispatched two horsemen to Pisæ, to Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, with a letter, requesting him to come, with all speed, to his relief, as the enemy had besieged him, in the midst
of

BOOK XL. of a truce. Bæbius had, before this, given up his army to Marcus Pinarius, the prætor, who was going into Sardinia, but he both informed the senate by Y.R. 591. letter that Lucius Æmilius was besieged by the Ligurians, and also wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province lay the nearest, that, if he thought proper, he should march his army out of Gaul into Liguria, and relieve Lucius Æmilius from the siege. These succours would have come too late. The Ligurians returned, next day, to the attack of the camp. Æmilius, though he knew that they would come, and could have drawn out his army to meet them, yet kept his men within the lines, for he wished to protract the business until such time as Bæbius should come with his army from Pisæ.

XXVI. BÆBIUS's letter caused a great alarm at Rome, and it was increased by this circumstance, that, in a few days after, Marcellus coming to Rome, having given up the command of the army to Fabius, banished all hope of a possibility of the army, then in Gaul, being removed into Liguria; for hostilities had commenced with the Iltrians, who obstructed the settlement of the colony of Aquileia; and, as Fabius had led his army thither, he could not quit that country, now that the war was begun. There was but one thing that could afford any hope of relief, and even that too slow for the exigency of the case, this was, that the consuls might hasten their march into that province, and the senators earnestly pressed them to do so. But the consuls declared that they would not set out until the levies were completed, and that no indolence in them, but the violence of the epidemic sickness, was the cause of their delaying so long. However, they could not withstand the united wishes of the whole senate, urging them to set out, in the military habit, and to publish an order to the troops which they had enlisted, to assemble at Pisæ, on a certain day. Authority was given them

to enlist soldiers for the occasion, on the road, as they went, and to take them with them; and orders were given to the prætors, Quintus Petillius, and Quintus Fabius, that Petillius should raise two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and compel every person under fifty years of age to enlist; and that Fabius should demand, from the Latine allies, fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. Commanders were appointed to the fleet, Caius Matienus, and Caius Lucretius, and ships were put in readiness for them. Matienus, whose station was at the Gallic bay, was ordered to lead the fleet, with all expedition, to the coast of Liguria, and to try if he could be of any service to Lucius Æmilius and his army.

XXVII. ÆMILIUS, seeing no appearance of succour from any quarter, supposed that his couriers had been intercepted. He resolved, therefore, to wait no longer, but to make a trial of fortune by himself; and, for this purpose, before the coming of the enemy, who now made their attacks with less briskness and vigour, he drew up his troops at the four gates, that, on a signal being given, they might sally out from all sides at once. To four independant cohorts of auxiliaries, he added two others, and gave the command to Marcus Valerius, lieutenant-general, with orders to sally out of the prætorian gate. At the right gate of the first cohort he formed the spearmen of the first legion, placing the first-rank men of the same legion in reserve; these bodies were commanded by Marcus Servilius, and Lucius Sulpicius, military tribunes. The third legion was drawn up opposite to the left gate of the first cohort, with this difference only, that here the first-rank men were posted in front, and the spear-men in reserve. Sextus Julius Cæsar, and Lucius Aurelius Cotta, military tribunes, had the command of this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the right wing of the allies, was posted at the quæf-

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torian gate ; and two cohorts, with the veterans of the two legions, were ordered to stay within to guard the camp. The general, himself, went round all the gates, haranguing the troops, and stimulating the rage of the soldiers, by every provoking circumstance that he could mention ; at one time declaiming against the treachery of the enemy, who, after suing for peace, and obtaining a truce, had come during the very time of that truce, in violation of the law of nations, to attack his camp ; at another, setting before them what a shame it was, that a Roman army should be besieged by Ligurians, people more properly styled robbers, than a regular enemy. " With what face," continued he, " if you make your way hence, by the assistance of others, and not by your own valour, will any of you meet, I do not say, those soldiers that conquered Hannibal, or Philip, or Antiochus, the greatest kings and generals of the present age, but those, who often drove those very Ligurians, flying like cattle, before them, through pathless forests, and put them to the sword ? What the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Macedonians, or Carthaginians, never dared to attempt, a Ligurian enemy dares : he marches up to the trenches of a Roman camp, besieges and assaults it ; although, but a little while ago, they were glad to hide themselves, and lurk in the wilds of the forests, so that we were obliged to make diligent search before we could find them." This was answered by a general clamour, that " the soldiers were not to be blamed, for they had not received any order to march out. Let him but give the order, and he should soon be convinced, that, both the Romans and the Ligurians, were the same that ever they were."

XXVIII. THERE were two camps of the Ligurians, on the hither side of the mountains, from which, on the former days, they had marched forward at sun-rise, all in order and regular array. On this

this day, they did not take arms, until they had made a full meal of food and wine; and then they came out in loose order, and regardless of their ranks, as expecting, with certainty, that the enemy would not venture out, beyond the rampart. As they were approaching, in this disorderly manner, the shout was raised by every one in the camp, at once, even by the sutlers, and servants; and the Romans rushed out of all the gates at the same time. This event was so entirely unexpected by the Ligurians, that it confounded them, no less than if they had been caught in an ambush. For a short time, some appearance of a fight was maintained, and then followed an hasty flight, and a general slaughter of the fugitives. The cavalry, being ordered to mount their horses, and not to suffer any to escape, the enemy were driven, in the utmost confusion, to their camps, and soon beaten out of them also. Above fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed that day, and two thousand five hundred taken. In three days after the whole state of the Inguanian Ligurians gave hostages, and surrendered. The masters and crews of the ships, which had been employed in piracies, were carefully sought for, and thrown into prison; and thirty-two ships, of that description, were taken by Caius Marienus, on the Ligurian coast. Lucius Aurelius Cotta, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, were sent to Rome with an account of these transactions, and with letters to the senate; they were ordered, at the same time, to request, that, as the business of the province was finished, Lucius Æmilius might have permission to leave it, and to bring away his troops and disband them. The senate granted both, and decreed a supplication, at all the shrines, for three days; and gave orders to the prætors that Petillius should discharge the city legions, that Fabius should excuse the allies, and Latines, from the levies, and that the city prætor should write to the consuls, that the

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BOOK senate thought proper that the occasional soldiers,
XL. enlisted on account of the sudden alarm, should be
 immediately discharged.
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XXIX. THE colony of Gravisca was established this year, in a district of Etruria, formerly taken from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land were given to each settler. The commissioners who conducted it, were Caius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Terentius Istra. The year was rendered remarkable by a drought, and a scarcity of the productions of the earth. Writers mention, that during the space of six months, no rain fell. In the same year, some workmen, in the farm of Lucius Petillius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad, the covers of which were soldered with lead. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latine letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, and king of the Romans; the other, that therein were contained the books of Numa Pompilius. The owner of the ground having, by the advice of his friends, opened these chests, found the one, which, according to its inscription contained the body of the king, perfectly empty, without any appearance of a human body or of any thing else, having ever been in it; the whole being consumed by the decay of such a number of years. In the other were found two bundles, tied round with waxed cords, and each containing seven books, not only entire, but apparently quite fresh. Seven were in Latine, and related to the pontifical law; and seven in Greek, containing the doctrines of philosophy, such as might have been known in that age. Valerius Antias adds, that they contained the doctrines of Pythagoras, supporting, by this plausible fiction, the credit of the vulgar opinion, that Numa

Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras. The books were read, first, by Petillius's friends, who were present at the transaction; and, afterwards, by many others, until they came to be publicly spoken of. Then, Quintus Petillius, the city prætor, having a desire to read them, borrowed them from Lucius Petillius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted; in consequence of Quintus Petillius having, when quæstor, chosen him, who was a notary, a decurio of horse. On reading the principal heads of the contents, he perceived that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religious doctrines, and, thereupon, he told Lucius Petillius, that "he was determined to throw those books into the fire; but before he did so, he gave him leave, if he thought he had any right or title to demand the restitution of them, to make the trial, which would not give him the least offence." The notary applied to the plebeian tribunes, and the tribunes referred the matter to the senate. The prætor declared, that he was ready to make oath, that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the senate decreed, that "the prætor's having offered his oath, ought to be deemed sufficient evidence, that those books should, without delay, be burned in the comitium, and that the owner should be paid for them such price as might be judged reasonable by the prætor Quintus Petillius, and the majority of the plebeian tribunes." This the notary did not assent to. The books were burned in the comitium, in the view of the people, the fire being made by the public servants, whose duty it was to assist at sacrifices.

XXX. A FORMIDABLE WAR broke out this summer in the hither Spain, where the Celtiberians assembled such a force, as they had hardly ever brought into the field before, amounting to no less than thirty-five thousand men. This province was

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governed by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, on hearing that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, drew together, on his side, all the succours he could procure from the allies. But he was still far inferior to the enemy, in point of numbers. Early in spring, he marched his army into Carpetania, and fixed his camp close to the town of Æbura, in which he posted a small garrison. In a few days after the Celtiberians pitched their camp at the foot of a hill, about two miles from thence. When the Roman prætor was informed of their coming, he detached his brother, Marcus Fulvius, with two troops of the allied horse, to the camp of the enemy, in order to take a view of them; and ordered him to advance as near as he could to their rampart, that he might form a judgment of the size of the camp; and not to engage in fight, but to retreat, if he should see the enemy's cavalry coming out. He acted as he was directed, and, for several days there was nothing farther done, than these two troops shewing themselves, and then retreating when the enemy's cavalry sallied from their camp. At length, the Celtiberians came out of their camp, with their entire force of horse and foot together, and drawing up in a line, posted themselves about midway between the two camps. The whole plain was level, and convenient for fighting, and here the Spaniards stood waiting for the enemy. The Roman general kept his men within the rampart, during four successive days, while the others constantly drew up their men, and formed in the same place. The Romans never stirred; and, from that time, the Celtiberians, finding no opportunity of engaging, remained quiet in their camp; their cavalry only came out, as an advanced guard, to be ready in case of any movement made by the Romans. Both parties went for wood and forage behind their own camps, neither interrupting the other.

XXXI. WHEN the Roman prætor thought that, by his continuing inactive so many days, he had created in the enemy a firm persuasion, that he would not, of himself, begin any enterprise, he ordered Lucius Acilius, with the left wing of allies, and six thousand provincial auxiliaries, to make a circuit round a mountain, behind the enemy; and, as soon as he should hear the shout, to pour down from thence on their camp. This party, to avoid being seen, set out in the night. At the dawn of day, Flaccus sent Caius Scribonius, a præfect of the allies, with the select horse of the left wing to the enemy's rampart; and the Celtiberians, observing that they approached nearer, and were also more numerous than usual, made the whole body of their cavalry sally out against them, and gave orders to the infantry to follow. Scribonius, according to his orders, no sooner heard the noise of the enemy's cavalry, than he wheeled about and retreated towards the camp, and they pursued with the more violence. First, the cavalry, and, in a short time, the line of infantry, came up, confidently expecting to assault the camp before night, and they advanced within five hundred paces of the rampart. Flaccus, therefore, thinking that they were now drawn far enough from their camp, to hinder their giving it any succour, as he had his troops already formed within the camp, burst out from three sides at once; and, at the same time, raised the shout, not only to inspire ardour for the fight, but also that it might be heard by the party on the mountain. Nor did these make any delay, but, according to their orders, poured down on the camp, where, the guard which was left consisted of no more than five hundred men who were so terrified by the smallness of their own number, the multitude of the assailants, and the unexpectedness of the affair, that the camp was taken, almost without a dispute, and Acilius set fire to that part of it which was most exposed to the view of the combatants.

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XXXII. THE Celtiberians in the rear of their

line, first, observed the flames, and the news spread

quickly through the whole army, that the camp was

lost, and was at that moment in a blaze, which filled

them with dismay, while it gave fresh spirits to the

Romans. For these, now, heard the shouts of vic-

tory raised by their friends, and saw the enemy's

camp in flames. The Celtiberians hesitated for

some time, uncertain how to act; but, when they

considered, that, in case of a defeat, they had no

place of refuge, and that their only hope now lay in

their arms, they renewed the combat afresh, with

greater obstinacy. Their centre was pressed hard

by the fifth legion; but their men advanced, with

more confidence, against the left wing, where they

saw that the Romans had posted the provincial aux-

iliaries, troops of their own kind. The left wing of

the Romans was, now, in danger of being defeated,

had not the seventh legion come to its support. At

the same time, the troops left in garrison at Æbura

came up, during the heat of the battle, and Acilius

closed on the enemy's rear. Thus surrounded, the

Celtiberians were, for a long time, cut off in great

numbers, and, at last, the survivors betook them-

selves to flight by whatever way they could. The

cavalry, in two divisions, was sent in pursuit, and

made great havoc among them. There were killed,

of the enemy, on that day twenty-three thousand,

and four thousand eight hundred were taken, with

more than five hundred horses, and ninety-eight mi-

litary ensigns. The victory was great, but not ob-

tained without loss of blood. There fell, of the two

Roman legions, a few more than two hundred men;

of the Latine confederates, eight hundred and thirty;

and of the foreign auxiliaries, about two thousand

four hundred. The prætor led back his victorious

troops to their camp, but ordered Acilius to lodge in

the camp, which he had taken. Next day the spoils

of the enemy were collected, and presents bestowed,

in

in public assembly, on such as had distinguished themselves by their bravery.

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XI

Y. R. 571.

B. C. 184.

XXXIII. THE wounded were then conveyed into the town of Eburac, and the legions marched through Carpetania, against Contrebia. The garrison there, on being invested, sent for succours to the Celtiberians; but these delayed so long, not because they were unwilling to come immediately, but, after they had begun their march from home, the roads being rendered impassable, and the rivers swelled by continued rains, obliged them to stop, that the others, despairing of assistance from their countrymen, capitulated. The same severe weather forced Flaccus to bring his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who were on their march, having heard nothing of the capitulation, when the rains abated, at last, passed the rivers, and came to Contrebia. When they saw no camp before the town, supposing, either, that it was removed to the other side, or that the enemy had retired, they came up towards the walls, in careless disorder; on which, the Romans, sallying out from two gates, attacked them before they could recover from their confusion, and effectually routed them. The same circumstance that disabled them from standing their ground and maintaining a fight, their not having come in one body, or in a regular disposition, round their standards, proved favourable to many, by enabling them to make their escape: for they scattered themselves, widely, over the whole plain, so that the enemy could no where inclose any considerable body of them. However, there were twelve thousand killed, and more than five thousand taken, with four hundred horses, and sixty-two military standards. The stragglers, flying homewards, turned back another body of Celtiberians, whom they met on the road, by informing them of the surrender of Contrebia, and their own defeat; whereupon

upon they all, immediately, dispersed, and made the best of their way to their several villages and forts. Flaccus, leaving Contrebia, led his legions through Celtiberia, ravaging the country; and he reduced a great number of their forts, in consequence of which, the greater part of the nation surrendered themselves.

XXXIV. SUCH were the transactions of that year in the hither Spain. In the farther province, Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. In the same year, the Latine colony of Aquileia was established in the Gallic territory. Three thousand foot soldiers received each fifty acres, centurions an hundred, horsemen an hundred and forty. The commissioners who conducted the settlement were, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. Two temples were dedicated, this year, one to Venus Erycina, at the Colline gate, the ceremony being performed by Lucius Porcius Licinus, duumvir, son of Lucius. This temple had been vowed, during the Ligurian war, by Lucius Porcius, consul. The other to Piety, in the herb-market. This was dedicated by Manius Acilius Glabrio, duumvir, who erected a gilded statue of his father Glabrio, the first of the kind that ever was in Italy. This was the person who vowed the temple, on the day whereon he gained the decisive victory over king Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, and who, likewise, had contracted for its being built, in pursuance of a decree of senate. At the same time, when these temples were dedicated, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, proconsul, triumphed over the Ingaunian Ligurians. He carried in the procession, twenty-five golden crowns; but there was no other article of either gold or silver carried in the triumph. Many Ligurian chiefs were led captives before his chariot, and he distributed to each of his soldiers

soldiers three hundred ascs*. The reputation of this triumph was enhanced by the arrival of ambassadors from the Ligurians, begging that a perpetual peace might be established, and averring that "the Ligurians had come to a resolution, never again to take arms, on any occasion, except when commanded by the Roman people." Quintus Fabius, prætor, by order of the senate, gave the Ligurians this answer, that "such kind of language was not new with the Ligurians; but it concerned chiefly their own interest that their disposition should be new, and conformable to their language. They must go to the consuls, and act as they should command; for the senate would never believe, from any other than the consuls, that the Ligurians were really and sincerely disposed to peace." Peace, however, was made with the Ligurians. In Corsica, a battle was fought with the Corsicans, in which the prætor, Marcus Pinarius, slew in the field two thousand of their men; and by this loss they were compelled to give hostages, and an hundred thousand pounds of wax. The army was then carried over into Sardinia, and some successful battles were fought with the Ilians, a nation, even at the present day, not, in every particular, friendly to us. In this year, an hundred hostages were restored to the Carthaginians, and the Roman people enabled them to live in peace, not only with themselves, but also with Masinissa, who, at that time, with an armed force, held possession of the land that was in dispute.

XXXV. THE consuls had nothing to do in their province. Marcus Bæbius, being summoned home to Rome to preside at the elections, created consuls, Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscius, and Caius Calpurnius Piso. Then were made prætors, Tiberius

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* 19 s. 4d.

Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula, Titus Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, and Caius Mænius. All these entered into office on the ides of March. In the beginning of this year, the consulate of Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Caius Calpurnius Piso, the consul, Aulus Postumius, introduced to an audience of the senate, a deputation, sent from the hither Spain, by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and composed of Lucius Minucius, lieutenant general, and two military tribunes, Titus Mænius, and Lucius Terentius Massa. These, after informing the senate of the two victories gained, of the submission of Celtiberia, and of peace being re-established, and that there was no occasion either to send pay, as usual, or corn to the army, for that year, then requested, first, that “on account of these successes, a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods; and, then, that leave should be given to Quintus Fulvius, on his quitting the province, to bring home thence the army, which had served under him, and many former prætors, with much bravery. They represented, that this measure, besides the propriety of it, was in some degree necessary, for the troops were so obstinately bent on it, that it did not seem possible to keep them longer in the province; but, if they were not ordered away, they would either leave it, without orders, or, if compulsory methods were employed to detain them, would break out into a dangerous mutiny.” The senate ordered, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. The prætors, then, cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Aulus Hostilius, the foreign, to Titus Minucius; Sicily, to Publius Cornelius; Sardinia, to Caius Mænius; farther Spain, to Lucius Postumius, and the hither, to Tiberius Sempronius. As this last was to succeed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and wished that the province might not be stripped of the veteran troops,

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He spoke thus: "Quintus Minucius, I demand of
 "you, since you assert, in your report, that peace is
 "re-established in the province, is it your opinion,
 "that the Celtiberians will always faithfully observe
 "the terms of the peace, so that the province may
 "be kept in obedience without an army? If you
 "cannot give us any assurance of, or undertake to
 "answer for, the fidelity of the barbarians, but are
 "of opinion, that, at all events, there must be an
 "army maintained there: I pray you, whether
 "would you recommend to the senate, to send a
 "reinforcement into Spain, in order that those sol-
 "diers, only, who have served out their time, may
 "be discharged, and the recruits mixed with the
 "veterans, or to withdraw the veteran legions, and
 "enlist new ones, and send them in their place; al-
 "though the contempt entertained for new soldiers
 "might rouse barbarians of more pacific tempers, to
 "a renewal of war? It would be a matter easier said
 "than done, to reduce to compleat subjection a pro-
 "vince, naturally ferocious, and remarkable for its
 "frequent renewals of hostilities. A few states, as I
 "am informed, who were awed, more than the rest,
 "by the nearness of our winter quarters, have sub-
 "mitted to our authority and dominion; while
 "those, more remote are in arms. This being the
 "case, Conscrip't Fathers, I now give notice before
 "hand, that, with the army at present there, I will
 "undertake to execute the business of the public;
 "but, if Flaccus brings those legions home with
 "him, I will choose some quiet part of the country
 "for winter quarters, and will not expose undisci-
 "plined soldiers to an enemy so remarkably fe-
 "rocious."

XXXVI. To the questions asked, the lieutenant-
 general answered, that "neither he, nor any other,
 "could possibly divine what were the sentiments of
 "the

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" the Celtiberians, or what they would be in future;
" therefore, he could not deny, that it would be pro-
" per to send an army among a barbarous people, who,
" though reduced to a state of quiet, were, not yet,
" sufficiently inured to subjection; but whether a new
" army, or a veteran one was requisite, was a ques-
" tion which he alone could answer, who knew,
" with what sincerity the Celtiberians would observe
" the peace; and who, at the same time, had assur-
" ance that the troops would remain quiet, if kept
" longer in the province. If a conjecture were to
" be formed of their intentions, either from their
" conversations with each other, or from the expres-
" sions with which they interrupted the general's
" harangues, they had openly and loudly declared,
" that they would either keep the general in the
" province, or come home with him to Italy."

This discussion, between the prætor and the lieutenant-general, was suspended, by the consuls introducing other business; for they demanded, that the business of their own provinces might be adjusted, before that of the prætor's army should be proceeded on. An army entirely new was decreed to the consuls: two Roman legions, with their proportion of cavalry; and of the Latine allies, the same number as always, of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. With this army, they were directed to make war on the Apuan Ligurians. Publius Cornelius and Marcus Babius were continued in command, and ordered to hold the government of the provinces, until the consuls should arrive; and then, to disband the troops under their command, and return to Rome. Then was taken into consideration the business of the army under Tiberius Sempronius. The consuls were ordered to enlist for him, a new legion, of five thousand two hundred foot, and four hundred horse; and also a thousand Roman foot, and five hundred horse; and

to command the allies of Latium, to furnish seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse. With this army, it was determined, that Tiberius Sempronius should go into the hither Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius, with respect to all those soldiers, whether Romans or allies, who had been transported into Spain, previous to the consulate of Spurius Postumius, and Quintus Marcius; and, likewise, to all such as, after the junction of the reinforcements, should be found redundant in the two legions, above the number of ten thousand four hundred foot, and six hundred horse; and, in the Latine auxiliaries, above twelve thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and who had behaved with courage under Quintus Fulvius, in the two battles with the Celtiberians, that he might, if he thought proper, bring all these home. Thanksgivings for his successes were also decreed; and the rest of the prætors were sent into their provinces. Quintus Fabius Buteo was continued in command in Gaul. It was resolved that eight legions should be employed, this year, besides the veteran army then in Liguria, which expected to be speedily disbanded; and even this number of men could with difficulty be made up, in consequence of the pestilence, which continued now, for the third year, to depopulate the city of Rome, and all Italy.

XXXVII. TIBERIUS MINUTIUS, the prætor, died of it; and soon after, Caius Calpurnius the consul, also many illustrious men of all ranks; so that at last, this calamity began to be considered as a prodigy. Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, was ordered to find out proper atonements for the wrath of the gods; the decemvirs to inspect the books, and the consul to vow offerings, and to present statues, gilt with gold, to Apollo, Æsculapius, and Health; both which he performed. The decemvirs proclaimed, on account of the sickness, a supplication of two
days,

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days, in the city ; and, in all the market towns, and villages ; and every person, above the age of twelve years, performed the supplication, with garlands on their heads and holding laurel in their hands. There had, also, crept into people's minds, a suspicion of human villainy being concerned ; whereupon Caius Claudius, prætor, who had been substituted in the room of Tiberius Minucius, was commissioned, by a decree of senate, to make inquiry concerning acts of sorcery committed in the city, or within ten miles of it ; and Caius Mænius was ordered to do the same, before he passed over to his province, Sardinia, in the market towns and villages, beyond the tenth stone. The death of the consul created the strongest suspicions. It was reported, that he had been murdered by his wife Quarta Hostilia ; and when her son, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was proclaimed consul in the room of his step-father, the suspicions of the public, respecting the death of Piso, were greatly augmented : for witnesses appeared, who testified, that, after Albinus and Piso were declared consuls, in which election Flaccus had suffered a disappointment, his mother upbraided him with being refused the consulship, a third time, and then desired him to stand candidate again, and " she would take such measures that within two months, he should be made consul." This expression, verified by the event too exactly corresponding with it ; and, joined to many other evidences of the same tendency, appeared such strong proof, that Hostilia was condemned. In the beginning of the spring of this year, while the levies detained the new consuls at Rome, and then the death of one of them, and the holding of the assembly to substitute another in his place, occasioned still farther delays, Publius Cornelius, and Marcus Bæbius, who in their consulate had done nothing worth mention, led their troops into the country of the Apuan Ligurians.

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LXXVIII. THE Ligurians, who had never thought of being attacked, before the consuls arrived in the province, being thus surpris'd, contrary to their expectations, surrendered themselves to the number of twelve thousand men. Cornelius and Bæbius, having first, consulted the senate by letter, determin'd to bring them down from their mountains into a plain country, so far from home, that they should have no hope of a return; for they were convinc'd, that by no other means, could a final end be put to the war in Liguria. There was a tract of land, in Samnium, the public property of the Roman people, formerly occupi'd by the Taurasians; and hither they intended to transplant the Apuan Ligurians. Accordingly, they publish'd an order, that the Apuan Ligurians should come down from the mountains, with their wives and children, and bring all their effects along with them. The Ligurians made, by their ambassadors, many humble supplications that they might not be compell'd to relinquish their native home, the soil in which they were born, and the tombs of their forefathers; and they promis'd to give up their arms, and deliver hostages; but, failing in all their solicitations, and being destitute of strength for the maintenance of a war, they obeyed the order. Forty thousand men, of free condition, with their women and children, were transplanted at the expence of the public, and an hundred and fifty thousand sesterces * were given them, to provide necessaries for their new habitations. Cornelius and Bæbius, who removed them, were commission'd to divide and apportion the lands; but, at their own request, the senate appointed five other commissioners to assist them with their advice. When they had finish'd this business, and brought home their veteran soldiers to Rome, the senate decreed them a triumph. These were the first, who

B. O. O. B.
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* 1210 l. 19 s. 9 d.

BOOK ever triumphed, without having fought an enemy
XL. Hostages only were led before their chariots; for
Y. R. 572. there appeared not, in their triumphs, either spoils
B. C. 180. to be carried, or prisoners to be led captives, or money to be distributed to the soldiers.

XXXIX. With regard to the affairs of Spain, this year Fulvius, proprætor, as his successor did not come to the province at the usual time, drew out the troops from their winter quarters, and went to lay waste the farther part of Celtiberia, whose inhabitants had not come in to make submission. But, by this proceeding, he rather provoked, than terrified, the minds of the barbarians; so that, having collected secretly a body of forces, they beset the Manlian pass, through which they knew, with certainty, that the Roman army was to march. Gracchus had commissioned his colleague, Lucius Postumius Albinus, who was going to the farther Spain, to desire Quintus Fulvius to bring the army to Tarraco, where he intended to discharge the veterans, to fill up the corps with the new supplies, and to put the whole army in complete order. The day also was mentioned to Flaccus, and that not very distant, on which his successor would arrive. On being informed of this new disposition, Flaccus was forced to drop the business which he had undertaken, and to lead away the troops, in haste, out of Celtiberia; and the barbarians, unacquainted with the reason, and supposing that he had discovered their revolt, and their secretly assembling an army, and that he was retreating through fear, exerted themselves, with greater confidence, to secure the pass. The Roman army entered this defile, at the dawn of day, and, immediately, the enemy, starting up, suddenly attacked it on two sides at once. Flaccus, seeing this, took pains to quiet the confusion, caused by the first alarm, by giving orders through the centurions that every man should keep his post, in the order of march,

march, and get ready his arms; then, collecting the baggage, and beasts of burthen, into one spot, partly by himself, partly by the help of the lieutenant-generals, and military tribunes, without any hurry or confusion, he formed his troops, as the time and place required. He put them in mind, that they were to engage with men "who had been twice reduced to submission; who had acquired an addition of wickedness and perfidy, but not of courage or spirit. That these people had put it in their power, instead of returning ingloriously to their country, to make their return glorious and splendid; for they would now carry home to Rome, to a triumph, their swords reeking with the fresh blood of the enemy, and spoils dropping gore." The time allowed not more to be said, the enemy advanced upon them, and the extremities of the wings were already engaged, and quickly after the whole lines encountered.

XL. THE battle was furious in every part, but the success various. The two legions fought with extraordinary bravery, nor were the two cohorts of the allies remiss; but the foreign auxiliaries were hard pressed, by men armed like themselves, and much better qualified for soldiers; nor were they able to maintain their ground. The Celtiberians perceiving, that, in a regular line, and in fair fighting, they were no match for the legions, made a push against them, in the form of a wedge, in which sort of attack they excel so much, that on whatever part they direct their assault, they never fail to make an impression. On this occasion too, the legions were disordered, and the line was almost broken. When Flaccus observed this disorder, he rode up to the legionary cavalry, asking them, "Have we any support in you? Is the whole army to be lost?" Whereupon they called out, from all sides, to him, to "tell them what he wished them to do:

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“and that it should be instantly done.” “Double your troops,” he replied, “and charge the wedge of the enemy, by which our troops are attacked; increase the force of your horses, by taking off their bridles; and then spur them on against the foe.” This expedient, historians mention, to have been often employed by the Roman cavalry, with great advantage. They did as he directed; and taking off the bridles, pushed, in full career, through that body, twice, forward and backward, breaking their spears to pieces, and making great havock of the enemy. The Celtiberians, on this dispersion of their wedge, on which they had placed their whole reliance, were quite dismayed; and, almost giving over the fight, looked about for ways to escape. And now, when the allied horse saw so brilliant an exploit performed by the Roman cavalry, they were so inflamed, by the example of their bravery, that, without waiting for orders they made a charge on the enemy, while they were in confusion. The Celtiberians made no longer resistance, but all fled, in haste and confusion, and the Roman general, when he saw their backs, vowed a temple to Equestrian Fortune, and games in honour of Jupiter, supremely good and great. The Celtiberians, dispersing in their flight, were pursued, with much slaughter, through the whole length of the pass. According to some historians, seventeen thousand of the enemy were killed on this occasion, and more than three thousand taken, with two hundred and seventy-seven military standards, and near one thousand one hundred horses. The victorious army pitched no camp that day. This victory was not gained without loss of men; four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers, one thousand and nineteen of the allies and Latines, and, with these, three thousand of the auxiliaries perished. The victorious troops, having thus reasserted their former renown, finished their march to Tarraco. The prætor, Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived two days

days before, came out to meet Fulvius, on the road, and congratulate him on the important services which he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then, with perfect unanimity, settled what soldiers they should discharge, and what they should retain; and Fulvius, embarking the disbanded soldiers in the fleet, set sail for Rome, while Sempromius led the legions into Celtiberia.

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XLI. Both the consuls led their armies into Liguria, but on different sides. Postumius, with the first and third legions, invested the mountains of Balista and Suifmontium; and, by securing the narrow passes leading thereto, with guards, cut off all supplies of provisions; by which means he reduced them to an entire submission. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, marched, from Pisæ, against the Apuan Ligurians, and having received the submission of that part of them, which inhabited the banks of the river Macra, he put them on board ships, to the number of seven thousand men, and sent them along the Etrurian coast to Neapolis, from whence they were conducted into Samnium, and had lands assigned them, among their countrymen. Aulus Postumius cut down the vineyards, and burned the corn of the Ligurians of the mountains, until, by making them suffer all the calamities of war, he compelled them to surrender themselves, and deliver up their arms. From thence, Postumius proceeded, by sea, to visit the coast of the Ingaunian, and Intemelian tribes. Before these consuls joined the army, at Pisæ, it was under the command of Aulus Postumius, and a brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who was military tribune of the second legion. In his months* of command, he disbanded the legion, after obliging

* As there were six tribunes in each legion, they took the command of it in turn, each holding it for two months.

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the centurions to swear, that they would carry the money in their hands to the treasury, and deliver it to the quaestors. When intelligence of this was brought to Aulus at Placentia, to which place he happened to have made an excursion, he set out, with some light horsemen, in quest of the disbanded men; and such as he could overtake, he sharply rebuked, and brought back to Pisæ, and then, sent information of the whole matter to the consul. He laid the business before the senate, who passed a decree, that Marcus Fulvius should be banished into that part of Spain, beyond new Carthage, and a letter was given him by the consul, to be carried into the farther part of Spain, to Publius Manlius. The soldiers were ordered to return to their standards; and it was decreed, that, as a mark of disgrace, that legion should, for that year, receive but half a year's pay; and the consul was ordered to sell, as a slave, every soldier who should not return to the army, and to confiscate his goods.

XLII. LUCIUS DURONIUS, who had been prætor the year before, returned now, with ten ships, from Illyricum to Brundisium, and, leaving the fleet in that harbour, came to Rome. In giving a recital of the services which he had performed in his province, he plainly threw the blame of all the piracies committed by sea, on Gentius, king of Illyricum. "From his kingdom," he said, "came all the ships that had ravaged the coast of the upper sea; and he had sent ambassadors on the subject, but they were not even allowed an audience of the king." Some time before this, ambassadors had come to Rome from Gentius, who said, that "at the time when the Romans came and desired audience of the king, he happened to be sick, in a remote part of his dominions; and that Gentius requested of the senate, not to give credit to the forged charges which his enemies made against him."

Duronius

Duroniſius added, beſides, that many Roman citizens and Latine allies, ſuffered ill treatment in his dominions; and that there were Roman citizens held in confinement, in Corcyra. An order was made, that all theſe ſhould be brought to Rome; that the prætor, Caius Claudius, ſhould inquire into that buſineſs, and that, until this were done, no answer ſhould be given to king Gentius, or his ambaffadors. Among many others who were cut off by the peſtilence, this year, ſeveral prieſts died of the diſorder. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a pontiff, died of it, and, in his room, was ſubſtituted Quintus Fabius Labeo. Publius Manlius, who had lately come home from the farther Spain, and was triumvir of religious feaſts, died alſo, and, in his place, was appointed triumvir, Quintus Fulvius, ſon of Marcus, then a mere youth. The appointing of a king of the ſacrifices, in the room of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, gave riſe to a diſpute between Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, naval duumvir; the pontiff required, before he inaugurated him, that he ſhould reſign his commiſſion, and, on his reſuſing this, the pontiff impoſed a fine on the duumvir. The latter then appealed, and the affair was brought to trial before the people. After a majority of the tribes were called in, to give their votes, and had ordered that the duumvir ſhould comply with the requiſition of the pontiff, and that on his reſigning his commiſſion the fine ſhould be remitted, an unfavourable omen, from the heavens, intervened, and broke off the proceedings of the aſſembly. After this the pontiffs were prevented, by religious ſcruples, from inaugurating Dolabella. They inaugurated Publius Clælius Siculus, as king of the ſacrifices, who had been inaugurated, as pontiff, in the ſecond place. Towards the end of the year, Caius Servilius Geminus, the chief pontiff, alſo died; he was moreover decemvir of religious affairs. In his room, as pontiff, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was nominated by the college, but the

BOOK XL. post of chief pontiff, though sought by many illustrious candidates, was conferred on Marcus Æmilius Lepidus; as was that of decemvir of religious affairs, vacant by the death of the same person, on Quintus Marcius Philipus. Spurius Postumius Albinus, an augur, died; and the augurs filled his place with Publius Scipio, son of Africanus. On the request of the people of Cumæ, leave was granted them to use the Latine language, in their public business, and that their auctioneers might use it in selling goods.

XLIII. THE Pisans, making an offer of grounds for the establishment of a Latine colony, received the thanks of the senate, and commissioners were appointed to conduct that business; these were Quintus Fabius Buteo, Marcus Pompilius Lænas, and Publius Poinpilius Lænas. Caius Mænius, prætor, who, on his appointment to the government of Sardinia, had also received commission to make inquisition concerning practices of sorcery, in places more than ten miles distant from the city, represented, now, in a letter, that “ he had already passed sentence on three thousand people, “ and that still, in consequence of fresh discoveries, “ the business increased so much on his hands, that “ he must either drop the prosecution of the inquiries, or give up the province.” Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned from Spain, with a high reputation for his military exploits; and, while he waited without the city, in expectation of a triumph, was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus. A few days after which, with the soldiers whom he had brought home, he rode into the city in triumph. He carried in the procession, an hundred and twenty-four golden crowns, together with thirty-one pounds weight of gold, and of coined Oscan silver an hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred pieces*.

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B. C. 175.

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He gave out of the booty, to each of the soldiers, fifty denariuses; double to a centurion; triple to a horseman; and the same sums to the Latine allies, with double pay to all. This year, for the first time, a law was proposed by Lucius Villius, plebeian tribune, ascertaining the ages at which men might sue for, and hold, the several offices in the state. Hence his family acquired the surname of Annalis.

XLIV. THE Bæbian law, which ordered, that every second year, the number of prætors elected should be four, and which had been overlooked for many years, was now observed, and the persons appointed were Cneius Cornelius Scipio, Caius Valerius Lævinus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, and Publius Mucius Scævola, sons of Quintus. To the consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, was decreed the same province, as to the preceding ones, and the same number of forces, infantry, cavalry, citizens, and allies. In the two Spains, Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postumius were continued in command, with the same armies which they then had; and, to fill up their numbers, the consuls were ordered to enlist, of Romans three thousand foot and three hundred horse, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and four hundred horse. The lots gave to Publius Mucius Scævola the city jurisdiction, and the business of the inquisitions concerning sorcery, in the city and within ten miles of it; to Cneius Scipio the foreign jurisdiction; to Quintus Mucius Scævola, Sicily; and to Caius Valerius Lævinus, Sardinia. The consul, Quintus Fulvius, before he meddled with the public business, declared, that “ he intended to
 “ acquire both himself and the state of the obligation
 “ of fulfilling the vows which he had made; that,
 “ on the day of his last battle with the Celtiberians,
 “ he had vowed to perform games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to build a
 “ temple to Equestrian Fortune; and that the Spa-
 “ niards

3 D O K " niards had made a contribution of money for these
XL. " purposes." A vote was passed that the games should
V. R. 573. be performed, and that duumvirs should be appoint-
E. C. 179. ed, to contract for the building of the temple: With
 regard to the expences, a limitation was fixed, that
 " no greater sum should be expended on the games,
 " than that which had been voted to Fulvius Nobi-
 " lior, when he exhibited games on the conclusion
 " of the *Ætolian* war; and that the consul should
 " not, on account of those games, send for, collect,
 " or receive, any thing, or act, in any respect, con-
 " trary to the decree of senate, passed concerning
 " games in the consulate of *Lucius Æmilius* and
 " *Cneius Bæbius*." The senate qualified their vote,
 in this manner, because *Tiberius Sempronius*, in his
 ædileship, had expended, on his games, such enor-
 mous sums, as were burthensome, not only to the
 Latine allies, and Italy, but even to the provinces
 abroad.

XLV. THE winter of that year was rendered
 remarkably severe, by great falls of snow, and storms
 of every kind; those kinds of trees, which are sus-
 ceptible of injury from cold, were entirely blighted;
 and its duration, also, was unusually long: So that
 the Latine festival, on the mount, was broken off
 soon after its commencement, by a storm coming on
 suddenly, and with irresistible fury; but it was cele-
 brated afterwards, pursuant to an order of the pon-
 tiffs. The same storm also threw down many statues
 in the capitol, disfigured many buildings by light-
 ning, as the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, the white
 temple, and the Roman gate at Capua; and, in ma-
 ny places the battlements of the walls were beaten
 down. Among the rest of these prodigies, an ac-
 count was received from Reate, that a mule, with
 three feet, was soaled there. On account of those
 portents, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the
 books; and they directed to what gods, and with
 how

How many victims sacrifices should be performed; and that, on account of the many places being struck by lightning, a supplication should be performed at the temple of Jupiter, of one day. Then, the votive games of the consul Quintus Fulvius were exhibited with great magnificence, during ten days. Soon after, was held the election of censors, when Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were chosen. It was universally known, that a strong enmity subsisted between these two; for they had published it, often, by many disputes in the senate, and by furious ones in the assemblies of the people. When the election was ended, according to antient custom, they seated themselves in curule chairs in the field, near the altar of Mars, when, in a few minutes, came up thither the principal senators, accompanied by the body of the citizens, among whom Quintus Cæcilius Metellus spoke as follows:

XLVI. "CENSORS, we are not unmindful that you have been just now invested, by the whole body of the Roman people, with authority to preside over the morals of the state; and that we ought to be admonished and ruled by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, it may not be improper to point out to you what all good men blame in you, or, at least, somewhat which they wish to see altered. When we look at you separately, Marcus Æmilius, Marcus Fulvius, we know not, in the whole state, any one person whom, if we were called back again to vote, we could wish to be preferred to you; but when we behold you both together, we cannot avoid fearing that you are but ill associated; and that the public may not reap as much advantage from your being exceedingly pleasing to every one of us, as prejudice, from your being displeasing one to another. You have, for many years past, harboured an enmity to

"each

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BOOK

XL.

Y. R. 875.

B. C. 179.

“ each other, violent in its degree, and detrimental
 “ to yourselves; and we may justly fear, that from
 “ this day forward, it may prove more detrimental
 “ to us, and to the state, than it has been to you. As
 “ to the reasons, on which these our fears are found-
 “ ed, many observations, which might be made,
 “ will readily occur to yourselves; unless perhaps
 “ your implacable resentments have totally engross-
 “ ed your minds. These resentments we all be-
 “ seech you to terminate this day, in that sacred
 “ place, and to suffer persons, whom the Roman
 “ people has united by their suffrages, to be united
 “ through our means, by such a reconciliation of
 “ amity; and that you will, with unanimity and har-
 “ mony, choose the senate, review the knights, per-
 “ form the survey, and close the lustrum: and that
 “ when you utter those words, which make part of
 “ almost all your prayers, that such a matter may
 “ prove prosperous and happy to me and my col-
 “ league, you will, truly and sincerely, wish it to
 “ prove so; and that you will act in such a man-
 “ ner, as that, whatever you beg from the immor-
 “ tal gods, we mortals also may be convinced, that
 “ you really wish it to happen. Titus Tatius and
 “ Romulus, after having encountered, as enemies,
 “ in the middle of the forum, reigned, with concord
 “ in the same city. Not only quarrels, but wars,
 “ are accommodated; and, from bitter foes, men
 “ frequently become faithful allies, nay, sometimes,
 “ countrymen. The Albans, after the demolition
 “ of Alba, were transplanted to Rome; the Latines,
 “ the Sabines, were admitted into the number of
 “ citizens. It is a common saying, and, because
 “ founded in truth, has become a proverb, that
 “ friendships ought to be immortal, but enmities
 “ mortal.” A universal roar of approbation was
 now heard; and presently after, the voices of every
 one present, all joining in the same request, inter-
 rupted his discourse. Then Æmilius, besides other
 complaints,

complaints, represented, that through Fulvius's intrigues, he had been twice disappointed of the consulship, when he had reason to think himself sure of obtaining it. On the other hand, Fulvius complained, that Æmilius sought every opportunity of injuring him; and had instituted a prosecution against him, and obliged him to give surety to abide judgment, to his great discredit. Nevertheless, each of them intimated, that, if the other would do the same, he was ready to submit to the direction of such a number of the most respectable members of the state; and all present urgently repeating their request, they mutually pledged their right hands, and their honour to dismiss and forget all animosity. The whole assembly expressed the highest applause of their behaviour; and then escorted them to the capitol, where both the attention, paid to such a matter by the persons of the first consequence, and the compliance of the censors, were most warmly approved, and commended by the senate. The censors, then, demanded, that a sum of money should be assigned to them, which they might employ in public works; and the customs of one year, were accordingly decreed to them.

XLVII. MEANWHILE, in Spain, the proprætors, Lucius Postumius, and Tiberius Sempronius, settled between them, that Albinus should march through Lusitania, against the Vaccæans, and thence return into Celtiberia; and Gracchus penetrated into the remotest parts of Celtiberia; because the commotions there were the most dangerous. First, he made an unexpected assault on the city of Munda, by night, and took it by storm; then, having received hostages and placed a garrison in the town, he proceeded to attack their forts, and ravage the country with fire, until he arrived at another strong town, called by the natives Certima. While he was employed here, in advancing his works to the walls, deputies came out from the town, who spoke with all the simplicity of the earliest times, not dissembling their wishes

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BOOK XL. wishes to continue the war, if they could procure strength to support it. For they requested permission to go into the camp of the Celtiberians, and solicit assistance from them; and said, that "if they did not obtain it, they would then consult their own interests, separately, without regard to them." This being granted by Gracchus, they went accordingly, and, in a few days after, came back with ten other ambassadors. They arrived about noon; and the first thing that they asked of the prætor was, that he would order some drink to be given them; and after drinking off the first cups, they called for more, while all who were present could not refrain from laughing at a people so unpolished, and so ignorant of every thing like civilized manners. Then the eldest of them said, "we have been sent by our nation to ask what it is that gives you so much confidence, that you should venture to come and make an attack on them." To this question Gracchus answered, that "he came relying on an excellent army; which if they chose to see, in order to carry back certain information to their friends, he would give them an opportunity;" and then, he ordered the military tribunes to draw up, in array, all the forces both horse and foot, and make them go through their exercise, in arms. After this sight, the ambassadors were dismissed, and they gave such accounts, as deterred their people from attempting to succour the besieged city. The townsmen raised fires on the towers, which was the signal agreed on, but receiving no answer, and being thus disappointed in their only hope of relief, they capitulated. A contribution of two million four hundred thousand sesterces* was imposed on them; and they were obliged to furnish forty horsemen, of the highest rank among them, not under the denomination of hostages, for they were ordered to serve as soldiers, but in reality to be pledges for their fidelity.

XLVIII. He then marched to the city of Alce, BOOK XL.
 where lay the camp of the Celtiberians, from which Y. R. 479.
 the ambassadors had lately come. For some days, B. C. 479.
 he harassed them with skirmishes, sending his light troops to attack their advanced guards; and then made more important attacks, in order to draw them all out from their entrenchments. As soon as he perceived that his plan took effect, he gave orders to the præfects of the auxiliaries, that, after a short contest, they should suddenly turn their backs, as if overpowered by numbers, and fly, with all haste, to the camp; in the mean time, he, himself, drew up all his forces in order, within the rampart, at all the gates. It was not long until he saw his detachment flying towards him, as had been previously agreed, and the barbarians following, in a disorderly pursuit. This was exactly what he wanted; and he had his troops formed in readiness to lay hold on the occasion; he therefore delayed no longer, than to leave the passage open for his party, which was flying, to get into the camp; and then, raising the shout, he made his troops rush out from all the gates at once. The enemy did not sustain the unexpected shock. They, who came to assault his camp, could not even defend their own; for they were instantly routed, put to flight, driven in a panic within their trenches; and, at last, beaten out of their camp. In this action, nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and three hundred and twenty taken, with an hundred and twelve horses, and thirty-seven military ensigns. Of the Roman army there fell an hundred and nine.

XLIX. AFTER this battle, Gracchus employed the legions in ravaging the country of Celtiberia, and, after he had spread depredations, of every kind, to a vast extent, some states, voluntarily, others, through fear, submitted to his yoke; so that within a few days, he received the submission of an hundred and three towns, besides having acquired an immense booty.

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booty. He then marched to Alce, whence he came and opened the siege of that city. The townspeople withstood the first assault; but when they afterwards found themselves attacked, not only by arms, but works also, they despaired of being able to defend the city, and retired into the citadel. At last, they sent envoys from thence, and surrendered themselves, and every thing belonging to them, to the Romans. The plunder taken here was very great. Many prisoners of distinction fell into the victors' hands; among whom were two sons and a daughter of Turrus. This chieftain, who governed those tribes, was, by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards. On hearing the disasters of his countrymen he sent for a passport, and came into the camp to Gracchus, and asked him, first, "whether the lives of him and his subjects would be spared?" The prætor answered that they would, then he asked again, "whether it would be allowed him to bear arms, on the side of the Romans?" To this too Gracchus assented, on which he said, "I will follow you, then, against my old allies, since they have not thought proper to pay any regard to me." From that time, he united himself to the Romans, and acted in their service, on many occasions, with great courage and fidelity.

L. AFTER this, Figavia, a city of great power and opulence, terrified by the disasters of the surrounding states, opened its gates to the Romans. Some writers say, that the submissions of these towns were not made with sincerity; but that, whenever the legions were led away from any quarter of the country, the natives resumed their arms; and that the Roman general fought, afterwards, near Mount Caurus, a pitched battle with the Celtiberians, which was warmly contested, from break of day to the sixth hour; that many fell on both sides, and that the Romans had no strong proof of their gaining the victory, excepting that, next day, they offered battle, and the enemy

they refused to come out of their entrenchments: that he employed that whole day in collecting the spoils, and, on the day following fought a more desperate battle, in which the Celtiberians were at length completely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered: that twenty-two thousand of the enemy were killed in the action, more than three hundred taken, with almost an equal number of horses, and seventy-two military standards: that this put an end to the war, and that the Celtiberians concluded a peace, with a real intention to keep it, and not with their former insincerity. They say also, that during the same summer, Lucius Postumius fought two battles, in the farther Spain, with the Vaccæans, and gained complete victories, killed thirty-five thousand men, and took their camp. It is, however, more probable, that he came into the province too late to do any business for that campaign.

LI. THE censors reviewed the senate with cordial harmony. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the censor, who was likewise chief pontiff, was chosen head of the senate; three were expelled. Lepidus restored some who were struck out by his colleague. They then divided between them a part of the money assigned to them, and completed therewith the following works:—Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, an unpopular work, because he had estates there, and brought into the account of the public expenditure, what ought to have been done at his own expence. He agreed with contractors for building a theatre, and a stage, near the temple of Apollo, and for cleaning and embellishing the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, and the columns around it; he also removed from those columns the statues that stood incommodiously before them, and took down the shields, and military ensigns of all sorts, which were hung upon them. Marcus Fulvius made contracts for more numerous and more useful works: a haven

BOOK on the Tiber, and piers for a bridge across it; **XL.** which piers Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, censors, many years after, caused the arches to be erected; a court of justice, behind the new bankers shops, and a fish market, surrounded with shops, which he sold to private persons; also a Forum, and portico, on the outside of the gate Trigemina; another portico behind the dock-yard, and one at the temple of Hercules; and also a temple of Apollo Medicus, behind that of Hope, on the bank of the Tiber. They had, besides, some of the money undivided, and out of this, they jointly agreed to pay for water being brought to the city, and the raising of the necessary arches; but Marcus Licinius Crassus put a stop to this work, which he would not suffer to be brought through his grounds. They also established many port duties and customs, and took care that many public chapels, which had been occupied by private persons, should again become places of public worship, and be open to the people. They likewise made an alteration in the mode of voting; for, through all the regions, they made divisions of the tribes*, according to the different ranks of men, and their several occupations and callings.

LII. ONE of the censors, Marcus Æmilius, petitioned the senate, that a sum of money should be voted to him, for the celebration of games, on occasion of the dedication of the temples of Imperial Juno and Diana, which he had vowed eight years before, when employed in the Ligurian war. They accordingly voted twenty thousand ascs†. He dedicated those temples, both in the Flaminian circus; and, in that circus, exhibited stage plays for three days, after the dedication of the temple of Juno, and two, after

* In consequence of which regulation, all those of each tribe, who were of the same rank and occupation, voted together.

† 64 l. 11 s. 4 d.

of Diana, and, for one day in the circus. He also dedicated a temple to the deities of the sea, in the field of Mars. This had been vowed eleven years before, by Lucius Æmilius Regillus, in the sea-fight with the ships of king Antiochus. Over the gate of the temple was hung up a tablet with this inscription: *

* * * * *

A tablet, with the same inscription, was placed over the gate of the temple of Jupiter, on the capitol. *

LIII. Two days after the censors had reviewed the senate, the consul, Quintus Fulvius, marched against the Ligurians; and, making his way through the mountains, and difficult passes, fought a pitched battle with the enemy, and not only defeated them in the field, but took their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy, and all that tract of Ligurià, surrendered to the conqueror. The consul brought down all those who surrendered into the low lands, and posted guards on the mountains. His letters from that province, quickly reached Rome, and a thanksgiving, of two days, was voted, on account of his successes. The prætors, during this thanksgiving, sacrificed forty victims of the larger kinds. The other consul, Lucius Manlius, did nothing in Liguria worth recording. Some transalpine Gauls, to the number of three thousand, came over into Italy, without offering to commit hostilities of any kind, and petitioned the consul and senate for some land, proposing to live as became peaceable subjects, under the government of the Roman people. But the senate ordered them to quit Italy, and enjoined the consul Quintus Fulvius, to

* Neptune, Thetis and Glaucus.

† Here are given, in the original, some lines, as the inscription; but so corrupted and so defective, as to be utterly unintelligible. Gronovius endeavours, in vain, to explain them; Crevier gives the matter up.

BOOK search after and punish those, who had been their
villains and leaders in passing the Alps.

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B.C. 177.

LIV. THIS year died Philip king of Macedonia, being worn out with age, and the grief which had continually preyed on him since the death of his son Demetrius. He spent the winter at Demetrias, in great anguish of mind, occasioned both by grief for the loss of his son, and by remorse for his own cruelty. He also received constant cause of disquiet from his surviving son, who now considered himself, as did every one else, quite secure of the throne, from perceiving the eyes of all turned towards him, and himself, in his old age, forsaken and desolate; while some only waited for his death to shew their inclinations, and others did not even wait for that event. All this added to the bitterness of his sorrow; in which the only one who sympathised with him, was Antigonus, son of Echeocrates, named after his uncle Antigonus, who had been guardian to Philip; he was a man of royal dignity, and famed for a remarkable battle which he fought against Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian. The Greeks called him the Guardian, to distinguish him from the other princes of that surname*. His nephew Antigonus, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured with his favours, was the only one that remained uncorrupted; and this faithful attachment was the cause that Perseus, who had never been his friend, became now his open and most inveterate enemy. He plainly foresaw the great dangers which threatened him, in case of the succession of the crown coming to Perseus; and therefore, as soon as he perceived the king's mind to be softened, and that he sometimes sighed with regret for the loss of his son, that he sometimes listened to people conversing on the subject, and sometimes even introduced the mention of

* They called him also Euergetes, and Soter.

as of a proceeding too easily executed, and often accompanied the lamentations of the other with his own; and, as the truth usually affords many traces of itself, he pursued these with the most zealous diligence, in order that the whole might be brought to light as speedily as possible. Of the agents employed in that business, those who were most generally supposed guilty, were Apelles and Philocles, who had gone ambassadors to Rome, and had brought the letter under the name of Flamininus, which had proved so ruinous to Demetrius. The common cry in the palace now was, that it was a forgery, contrived by the secretary, and that the seal was counterfeited.

IV. WHILE this, however, was rather a matter of suspicion than of certainty, Antigonus accidentally met Xychus, and immediately laid hands on him, and brought him to the palace; then, leaving him in custody of a guard, he went on to the apartment of Philip, to whom he said. "From many conversations with you, I think I may conclude, that it would be highly satisfactory to you, to be able to learn the truth respecting your sons; which of the two was guilty of treachery, and plotting against the other. The only man in the world who can unravel this mystery is now in your power, Xychus. I met him by accident, and I have brought him to the palace; I entreat you to order him to be called into your presence." On being brought in, he, at first, denied every thing, but with such irresolution, as shewed that a slight application to his fears would readily extort the truth. Accordingly, he did not withstand the sight of the executioner, and the instruments of torture, but disclosed the whole process of the villainy of the ambassadors, and the part which he himself had acted in it. Orders were instantly dispatched to seize the ambassadors, and Philocles, who was in the

BOOK XL.
X. R. 573.
B. C. 379. the town, was apprehended; but Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a person called Chærea, getting notice of the discovery made by Xychus, fled over into Italy. With respect to Philocles, no certain account has been published: some say, that, for a time, he boldly denied all knowledge of the matter; but that, when Xychus was confronted with him, he persisted no longer; others, that he even suffered the rack without confessing. Philip's grief was hereby renewed and doubled, and he felt his unhappiness, with regard to his children, press the heavier on him, because one of them was still alive.

LVI. WHEN Perseus was told that all was discovered, being too powerful to think flight necessary, he only took care to keep out of the way, intending to guard himself, during the remainder of Philip's life, from the flame, as it were, of his burning resentment. His father, having now no hope of getting his person into his power, and bringing him to punishment, resolved to take vengeance in the only way that was left him; and accordingly he employed all his endeavours to prevent his enjoying, along with impunity, the prize his villainy aimed at. To this end, he addressed himself to Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for the full discovery of the fratricide, and whom he supposed the Macedonians, considering the fresh renown of his uncle Antigonus, would neither be ashamed nor displeased at having for their king. "Antigonus," said he, "since I have been brought into such a situation that the being childless, a state which other parents reckon a curse, would to me be a blessing, I am resolved to transfer to you the kingdom which I received from your uncle, and which his faithful and resolute guardianship not only preserved for me, but even enlarged. You are the only friend I have, whom I can judge worthy of the throne; and, if I had not one such, I should wish the regal dig-

" pity

to perish and become extinct, rather than be
a prize to the treacherous villainy of Perseus.
I shall think Demetrius recalled from the dead, and
restored to me, if I can leave, in his place, such
a representative as you, who alone have wept for
his innocent death, and for my unhappy error."
After this discourse he omitted no opportunity of
promoting his interest by conferring on him honours
of every kind; and, as Perseus was absent in Thrace,
he made a circuit round the cities of Macedonia,
recommending Antigonus to the men of principal
consequence: and, had he lived a little longer, he
would undoubtedly have left him in possession of the
throne. After leaving Demetrias, he staid longest
at Thessalonica, and, on going thence to Amphipolis,
was there seized with a severe sickness. Yet
it was evident that the disorder of his mind was
greater than that of his body, and that the immediate
causes of his death, were his troubled thoughts
and want of rest; for he was frequently thrown into
violent agitation by the apparition of the shade of
his innocent murdered son, and drew his last breath
in imprecating dreadful curses on the other.
Nevertheless, Antigonus might have been seated on
the throne, if, either, he had been on the spot, or
the death of the king had been immediately divulged.
But Calligenes, the physician, who had the care of
the king in his sickness, did not wait for his death;
but, as soon as he observed the first desperate symptoms,
dispatched the account to Perseus by couriers,
who, according to a plan settled, had been previously
disposed in convenient places; and, until he arrived,
he concealed the death of the king from all but those
who were in the palace.

LVII. PERSEUS, therefore, by his sudden arrival,
as people neither expected it, nor knew what had
happened, crushed all thoughts of opposition, and
seized on the throne, the object of his wicked de-
vices.

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 B C 1172. The death of Philip happened very season-
 ably, for the purpose of gaining time, and collecting
 strength for the support of a war: for, in a few days
 after, the nation of the Bastarnians, in consequence
 of long solicitation, set out from their own country,
 with a large force of infantry and cavalry, and cross-
 ed the Danube. Then Antigonus and Cotto set
 forward, to carry intelligence of this to the king.
 Cotto was a Bastarnian of distinction, and Antigo-
 nus had been sent, much against his will, with this
 same Cotto, as ambassador, to persuade the Bas-
 tarnians to take arms. At a small distance from Am-
 phipolis, common report, first, and then, authentic
 information, acquainted them with the king's death;
 which event disconcerted the whole of their plan.
 The scheme had been settled in this manner. Philip
 was to procure for the Bastarnians, a safe passage
 through Thrace, and supplies of provisions; in or-
 der to be able to effect which, he had gained the
 confidence of the chieftains in that country, by pre-
 sents, and had pledged his faith, that the Bastarnians
 should march through it, in a peaceable manner. It
 was proposed to exterminate the nation of the Dar-
 danians, and to give settlements to the Bastarnians,
 in their country; from which measure a double ad-
 vantage was expected; as, in the first place, the
 Dardanians, a nation ever hostile to Macedonia, and
 watchful to take advantage of the misfortunes of its
 kings, would be removed out of the way; and then, the
 Bastarnians might leave their wives and children in
 Dardania, and be sent to ravage Italy. It was conclud-
 ed, that the road to the Adriatic sea and Italy was through
 the country of the Scordiscians, and that the army
 could not make its passage by any other way; that the
 Scordiscians would readily grant a passage to the Bas-
 tarnians, for they would have no dislike to people resem-
 bling themselves in language and manners, and would
 probably join them in an expedition, when they saw
 their object was the plunder of a most opulent na-
 tion.

...was accommodated in
 every kind of event that might take place; for, in
 case of the Bastarnians being cut off by the Romans,
 with the removal of the Dardanians, the booty so be-
 gained from the remains of the Bastarnians, and the
 full possession of Dardania, would prove a great con-
 solation; but, if they should be successful, then, while
 the force of the Roman would be directed against
 the Bastarnians, he might recover what he had lost
 in Greece. Such had been the designs of Philip.

LVIII. THE Bastarnians, at first, marched through
 the country, without doing any mischief, according to
 the engagements of Cotto and Antigonus. But, on
 hearing the news of Philip's death, the Thracians
 soon became troublesome to deal with, and the Bas-
 tarnians not content with what they could purchase;
 nor could they be kept in a body, so as not to go
 out of the road. In consequence, injuries were com-
 mitted, on both sides, and from the daily multiplica-
 tion of these, war at last blazed out. In the end,
 the Thracians, unable to withstand the great strength
 and numbers of the enemy, deserted their towns in
 the plains, and betook themselves to a high moun-
 tain, which they call Donuca; and, when the Bastar-
 nians attempted to follow them up, as we are told
 the Gauls, when plundering Delphi, were de-
 feated by a storm, so a like storm, now, discomfited
 the Bastarnians, when they were in vain approaching
 the summit of the mountain. For they were not
 only overwhelmed with a deluge of rain, followed by
 odigious thick showers of hail, and accompanied
 with tremendous noises in the sky, peals of thunder,
 flashes of lightning, which dazzled their sight,
 the thunderbolts, also, fell so thick on all sides,
 they seemed to be aimed at their bodies; and,
 the soldiers, but their officers also, were
 slain by them, and fell. They fled, therefore, pre-
 cipitately, and hurrying along, without looking be-
 fore

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 fore them, tumbled down the high precipices of the rocks, while the Thracians, pursuing close, increased their dismay: but they themselves said, that the gods had put them to flight, and that the sky was falling on them. When, after their dispersion by the storm, as after a shipwreck, they returned, most of them half armed, to the camp whence they had set out, they held a consultation about their future proceedings, on which a disagreement arose, some advising to return home, and others to push forward into Dardania. About thirty thousand men, who came from home under the command of Clonidius, proceeded on thither, and the rest of their multitude marched back, by the same road through which they came, to the country beyond the Danube. Perseus, as soon as he got possession of the kingdom, ordered Antigonus to be put to death, and, until he could settle his affairs on a firm foundation, sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew the treaty concluded by his father, and to request the senate to give him the title of king. These were the transactions of that year in Macedonia.

Y. R. 574.
 B. C. 178.

 The conduct of the consuls, Quintus Fulvius, triumphed over the Ligurians, but it was plain that he was indebted for this triumph to interest, rather than to the greatness of his exploits. He carried in the procession a vast quantity of arms, taken from the enemy, but no money, yet he carried to each soldier, three hundred asses, double to centurions, triple to horsemen. There was nothing in this triumph more remarkable, than that it happened to be celebrated on the same day of the year, on which he triumphed, after his praetorship, the year before. After the triumph, he proclaimed the assembly, in which were chosen consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, and Aulus Manlius Vulso. After, when three praetors had been appointed, Caelius Ligus, Titus Albutius Carus, and Manlius, a storm interrupted the election.

